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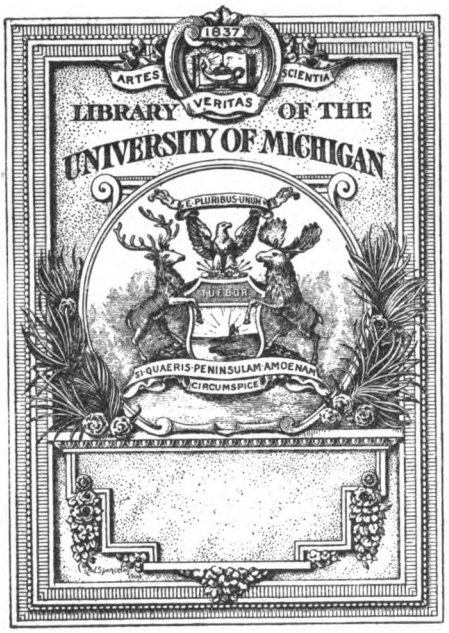

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Romance and Other Studies

BY

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH.D.,
Assistant in Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

NUMBER ONE:

THE

ÉVANGILE AUX FEMMES,

An Old-French Satire on Women.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

(Also issued in thesis form.)

BALTIMORE:
THE FRIEDENWALD COMPANY,
1895.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE SERIES.

In choosing a title for the series of monographs which I propose to publish under the head of *Romance and Other Studies*, my main object has been to select one which would be at once sufficiently descriptive and sufficiently elastic to suit the rather heterogeneous assortment of subjects which I have in mind to treat. At the same time the title chosen has, I believe, the advantage of not resembling to any marked degree that of any similar collection now in process of publication.

The numbers treating subjects not exclusively belonging to the Romance field will probably be chiefly devoted to some portion of the vast domain of Comparative Literature, as that is a field in which I am considerably interested. Among the monographs which will perhaps be included in this series are the following (already in part prepared):

1. *A Manual of Æsopic Fable Literature;*
2. *A History of Hagiography in France;*
3. *A Guide to Facsimiles of Romance Manuscripts;*
4. *The Fable of the Ass' Heart;*
5. *The St. Alexis Legend.*

It is, of course, doubtful whether I shall in the end be able to complete all of the above studies; but should some be omitted, others will probably be inserted in their place.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
June 15, 1895.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

As the scope of the work done by the Romance scholars of America has widened and deepened, the editing of monuments of the older literature has come in for its share of attention. Though far removed from the great manuscript depositories of the world, the enterprise of American scholars has not found this to be an unsurmountable difficulty in the preparation of critical text editions. To prove the truth of this statement one has only to mention the names Henry A. Todd and Thomas A. Jenkins to call to mind their successful work in this direction.[1] Hitherto French has been the only language represented in such publications, but in truth the older literary field in every Romance language is white unto the harvest, and awaits but the coming of a band of earnest workers to yield a plenteous return even to those dwelling in the New World.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
March 25, 1895.

[1]*a. Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours* par Nicole de Margival, poème du XIIIe siècle, publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Saint-Pétersbourg par Henry A. Todd. Paris, Didot, 1883. 8vo, xxxix and 117 pp. (*Société des Anciens Textes Français.*)

b. La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, ou les Enfants Changés en Cygnes. French poem of the XIIth century, published for the first time, together with an inedited prose version, from the MSS. of the National and Arsenal Libraries at Paris; with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by Henry Alfred Todd, Ph. D., Associate in the Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The Modern Language Association, 1889. 8vo, xv, 120 and 18 pp. (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4, July–December.)

c. L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz of Marie de France, published with an introduction and a study of the language of the author, by Thomas Atkinson Jenkins. Philadelphia, 1894. 8vo, vi and 151 pp.

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PART I.

General Survey.

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A.—INTRODUCTION.

1.—*External History.*

Of the Old-French poems which have been preserved, the *Évangile aux Femmes* is perhaps the most remarkable if we take into consideration the various conditions under which it arose and spread. It may well be claimed that this poem has never been lost sight of by the literary public of France, a statement which can hardly be true of many of the monuments of the older literature. Originating in or near Paris, it rapidly spread to the neighboring literary centres and seems to have been a general favorite with the trouveurs and their jovial audiences. This fact is established beyond a doubt by the numerous and widely discrepant versions preserved to us in the manuscripts hitherto discovered.[1]

But even after the invention of printing our poem did not sink into the obscurity which was the fate of so many other productions belonging to Old-French literature, for one of the manuscripts still extant was the property of no less a literary personage than Claude Fauchet, who did not fail to make mention of the poem in his well-known treatise.[2] From this work were, of course, derived the several mentions of the poem to be found in the literary histories of succeeding centuries,[3] until finally M. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, in the course of the extended preparations for his projected work

[1] For the proof of the statements made above, see especially the chapter on the *Relations of the Manuscripts*.

[2] *Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poésie Françoise Ryme et Romans: plus les Noms et Œuvres des 127 Poètes François Vivant Avant l'An 1300.* Paris, Mamert Patisson, 1581. 4to. (*Non vidimus.*)

For a description of this work, see Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire, s. v.* Fauchet.

[3] Compare the statements of M. Léopold Constans, published in:

a. Bulletin de la Société Historique de Compiègne, Vol. III, p. ;

M. Constans, *Marie de Compiègne d'après l'Évangile aux Femmes*

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on Old-French literature, had the poem copied from the manuscripts then known to contain it. These copies we still possess,[4] and it was they, no doubt, that again attracted the especial attention of scholars to the poem as found in the original manuscripts,[5] after it had lain there unread perhaps for several centuries.

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vidimus.) Compare the reference given below to G. Naetebus in Note 15*g*.

b. Deprint of the preceding: *Marie de Compiègne d'après l'Evangile aux Femmes*, texte publié pour la première fois dans son intégrité d'après les quatre manuscrits connus des XIII^e^, XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles, avec un commentaire philologique (et) grammatical, et une dissertation sur l'origine probable de ce fabliau, par M. Constans, Professeur Agrégé au Lycée de Sens. Paris, Vieweg, 1876. 8vo, 86 pp.

On p. 75 we find the following vague statement:

"Plusieurs critiques, au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle, et M. Jubinal, au XIX^e^, ont attribué, sans discussion, il est vrai, l'Évangile aux Femmes à Jehan Dupain ou Durpain, . . ."

Reference is probably made, amongst others, to M. Lacroix du Maine, *Bibliothèque Françoise*, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1584, fo. (*non vidimus*); and to M. Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque Françoise*, Lyon, 1585, fo. (*non vidimus*).

Indeed we have the direct statement of M. Paulin Paris in regard to the former of these, in:

Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi, leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, etc., de la même collection. Par A. Paulin Paris, Conservateur-adjoint de la Bibliothèque du Roi (Section des Manuscrits). IV. Suite du format in-folio mediocri. Paris, Techener, 1841. 8vo, 471 pp. See p. 182.

To the same effect is that of the:

Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les.temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter; publiée par MM. Firmin Didot Frères, sous la direction de M. le Dr. Hoefer. Vol. XV. Paris, 1858. 8vo. See col. 302.

[4] *a*. Ars. f. 2765, fo 1ro (= MS. K), copy of MS. B;

b. Ars. f. 2768, fo 126vo (= MS. L), copy of MS. C;

c. Ars. f. 3123, pages 134–136 (= MS. M), copy of MS. F.

I know these manuscripts only through copies made for me. (For a complete list of the manuscripts see p. 9.)

Jongleurs et Trouvères, ou Choix de Saluts, Épîtres, Rêveries et Autres Légères des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ Siècles; publié pour la première fois

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Through all this time the poem itself, though mentioned here and there,[6] had remained unpublished, and it was not until M. Achille Jubinal brought out his work entitled *Jongleurs et Trouvères* (1835) that a text of the poem appeared in print.[7] From that time until 1876 nothing more was done to investigate this peculiar literary monument; in the latter year, however, there appeared the now famed edition of M.

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par Achille Jubinal, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Paris, Merklein, 1835. 8vo, 190 pp. See p. 14.

It is to be noted, however, in this connection that the last-mentioned copy of M. de Sainte-Palaye was made from a manuscript which was not one of the three known to M. Jubinal (that is, MS. F).

Compare also the statement made in this matter by M. Paul Meyer, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Autres Bibliothèques*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, p. 76.

Perhaps some additional information may still remain to be extracted from the copies made by M. Jubinal of French, Spanish and Italian poems which are said to be preserved in the manuscripts known as Bagnères, Nos. 10–21 (cf. Zfrp VII, 166).

[6] *a.* Claude Pierre Goujet (= L'Abbé Goujet), *Bibliothèque Françoise, ou Histoire de la Littérature Françoise;* dans laquelle on montre l'utilité que l'on peut retirer des Livres publiés en François depuis l'origine de l'Imprimerie, pour la connoissance des Belles Lettres, de l'Histoire, des Sciences (et) des Arts; et où l'on rapporte les Jugemens des critiques sur les principaux ouvrages en chaque genre écrits dans la même Langue. Paris, 1741. 9 vols. 16mo.

See Vol. IX, pp. 96–104, under Jean Dupin. (*Non vidimus;* referred to by M. Paris, *l. c.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.)

b. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, with indexes of persons, places, and matter. (By Humphrey Wanley and others.) Printed by command of His Majesty King George III, in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. (London) 1808–1812. 4 vols. fo. Vol. III, 735 pp. (1808.) See p. 137, where the *Évangile aux Femmes* is given as occurring in Harley 4333. (This is an erroneous title in the manuscript; see the statements of M. Paul Meyer, Ro XV, 603.)

c. J. B. B. de Roquefort-Flaméricourt, *Glossaire de la Langue Romane.* Paris, Vols. I and II, 1808; Vol. III (*Supplément*), Paris, 1820. See Vol. II, p. 760 and also p. 766, under the rubric *Table Alphabétique.*

d. M. l'Abbé De la Rue, *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands.* Caen, chez Mancel, libraire-éditeur de la Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie, rue Saint-Jean. Vol. I, 1834. 8vo, lxxix and 312 pp. See p. 214.

[7] Title given in Note 5.

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Léopold Constans,[8] which served as the beginning of a controversy not yet definitely settled.

M. Constans claimed, as had been done even before his time,[9] that a certain *Marie de Compiègne* mentioned in several

[8] Title given in Note 3*b*.

[9] *a*. M. Roquefort, *l. c.* (See Note 6*c*.)

b. M. Jubinal, *Jongl.*, p. 26, note 2.

c. M. le Baron De Reiffenberg, *Chronique Rimée de Philippe Mouskes.* Bruxelles, M. Hayez, Imprimeur de la Commission Royale d'Histoire. Vol. II, 1838. 4to, cccxxvi and 880 pp. (*Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites*, publiée par ordre du Gouvernement et par les soins de la Commission Royale d'Histoire.) See p. 742.

d. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué par des Membres de l'Institut (Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). Tome XIX. Suite du Treizième Siècle, années 1256–1285. Paris, Didot, 1838. 4to, l and 891 pp.

Pp. 791–809: M. Amaury Duval, *Lais, Fables et Légendes de Marie de France.* See p. 739, note 1; also pp. lvii and 246.

e. *Trouvères, Jongleurs et Ménestrels du Nord de la France et du Midi de la Belgique*: II. *Trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis. Les Trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis*, par M. Arthur Dinaux. Paris: Valenciennes, 1839. 8vo, viii and 374 pp. Pp. 309–316: *Marie de France.* See p. 310.

f. *Les Romans du Renard Examinés, Analysés et Comparés* d'après les textes manuscrits les plus anciens, les publications latines, flamandes, allemandes et françaises; précédés de renseignements généraux et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements philologiques et littéraires; par M. A. Rothe, Professeur à l'Académie royale de Soroë (Danemarck). Paris, chez J. Techener, Libraire-Éditeur. 1845. 8vo, 524 pp. See p. 326.

g. M. Victor Leclerc, in the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Vol. XXIII. Paris, 1856. See p. 246. (Full title given in Note 9*d*.)

h. *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen.* Caen, 1863. 8vo. Pp. 415–477: M. A. Joly, *Marie de France et les Fables au Moyen-Age.* See p. 418. (*Non vidimus;* this reference is due to the kindness of Dr. W. Stuart Symington, Jr., of the Leland Stanford Junior University.)

i. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, etc. (See Note 3*b*.) Vol. XXXIII. Paris, 1863. 8vo. Cols. 731–738: M. P. Chabaille, *Marie de France.* See col. 733.

j. Eduardus Mall, *De Ætate Rebusque Mariae Francicae Nova Quaestio Instituitur.* Dissertatio Inauguralis, Halis Saxonum, 1867. 8vo, 60 pp. See pp. 16–17 and 55.

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of the versions was no other than the celebrated poetess *Marie de France.*[10] But Prof. Mall, then already for some time at work on his projected edition of the complete works of *Marie de France*, immediately entered protest against this view in a spicy article on the subject.[11] M. Constans accepted his theory in this one point,[12] but having discovered two new manuscripts, disagreed with him as to the value to be placed on the various manuscripts then known, and desired to have them arranged in quite a different scheme from that proposed by Prof. Mall. To this Prof. Mall again entered an earnest protest,[13] but this time without any effect upon the action of M. Constans except to make him give up the whole matter.[14] Since that time (1885) scholars have been content to accept Prof. Mall's views without further investigation,[15]

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k. Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle, par Pierre Larousse. Vol. X. Paris, 1873. 4to. See p. 1201.

The identification was, however, denied already by M. Hertz, *Les Lais de Marie de France*, traduction en vers allemands, précédée d'une introduction, Stuttgard, 1862, according to the testimony of M. Constans, *M. de C.*, pp. 1, 6, 65, 78–79. (*Non vidimus.*)

[10] M. Constans, *M. de C.*, pp. 2, 4–7.

[11] Zfrp I (1877), pp. 337–356: Ed. Mall, *Noch einmal: Marie de Compiègne und das "Évangile aux femmes."*

[12] Rdlr XIII (1878), pp. 150–151: review by M. Constans of Zfrp I, 337–356; and Zfrp VIII (1884), pp. 24–36: L. Constans, *L'évangile aux femmes.*

[13] Zfrp VIII (1884), pp. 449–455: Ed. Mall, *Zum sogenannten Évangile aux femmes.*

[14] Rdlr XXVII (1885), p. 254: review by M. Constans of Zfrp VIII, 449–455.

[15] *a. Die Lais der Marie de France*, herausgegeben von Karl Warnke. Mit vergleichenden Anmerkungen von Reinhold Köhler. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1885. 8vo, cviii and 276 pp. (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, III. Denkmäler Normannischer Literatur und Sprache, herausgegeben von Hermann Suchier.) See pp. iii–iv.

b. Ro XIV (1885), p. 159: review by M. Gaston Paris of Zfrp VIII, 449–455.

c. Manuel d'Ancien Français: La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge (XI^e–XIV^e Siècle), par Gaston Paris, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, Hachette, 1888. 8vo, vii and 292 pp. See pp. 154 (par. 106), and 212.

d. Manuel d'Ancien Français: La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge

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until (in 1891) the present editor had his attention attracted to the subject.[16]

In attempting to collect all the information that could be obtained in reference to the poem, he has been able to discover a considerable amount of new evidence bearing on the subject which he proposes to avail himself of, in connection with that already known, in order to produce in some sense a definitive edition,[17] if that be possible for the present state of our knowledge of French literature prior to the invention of printing.

2.—*Manuscripts.*

The *Évangile aux Femmes* has been preserved to us, as far as it is at present known, in the following manuscripts:

(*XI^e–XIV^e Siècle*), par Gaston Paris, Membre de l'Institut. Deuxième édition revue, corrigée, augmentée et accompagnée d'un tableau chronologique. Paris, Hachette, 1890. 8vo, xii and 316 pp. See pp. 154 (par. 106), 247 and 275.

e. A Primer of French Literature, by F. M. Warren, Ph. D., Associate in Modern Languages in the Johns Hopkins University. Boston, Heath, 1889. 8vo, vi and 250 pp. See p. 44.

f. Zfrp XIV (1890), pp. 172–174: G. Binz, *Zum Évangile des femmes.*

g. Die Nicht-Lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen. Ein Verzeichnis zusammengestellt und erläutert von Gotthold Naetebus. Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1891. 8vo, x and 228 pp. See pp. 67–68.

h. Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, by H. L. D. Ward. Vol. II. London, 1893. 8vo, xii and 748 pp. See p. 292.

[16] *a. Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. XII, No. 102. Baltimore, January, 1893. 4to.

Pp. 24–25: George C. Keidel, *The Évangile aux Femmes, an Old French Poem.* (Abstract of a paper read before the University Philological Association, November 18, 1892.)

b. Modern Language Notes, Vol. VIII (1893), cols. 35–37: George C. Keidel, *The Évangile aux Femmes.*

[17] Ro XIII (1884), pp. 629–630: review by M. Paul Meyer of Zfrp VIII, 24–36; from which we may quote the following passage:

"Voilà donc, depuis Jubinal qui a publié le premier *l'Évangile as fames*, quatre éditions du même texte. C'est beaucoup, surtout si on considère que le résultat est loin d'être définitif, les bases sur lesquels M. C. fonde sa nouvelle édition étant fort chancelantes."

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A = B. N. f. 1553 (anc. 7593), fo 519*d*—fo 520*b*.
B = B. N. f. 837 (anc. 7218), fo 201*c*—fo 202*a*.
C = B. N. f. 1593 (anc. 7615), fo 99*a*—fo 100*c*.
D = Dijon, bibl. mun. 298 *bis*, fo 113vo—fo 114ro.
E = Épinal, bibl. mun. 189, fo 37ro—fo 37vo.
F = B. N. f. 25545 (anc. Notre-Dame 274 *bis*), fo 2*b*—fo 2*d*.
G = Basel, Universitätsbibl., Amerbach collection, unnumbered and separate manuscript, fo 1ro—fo 5ro.
H = Château de Chantilly, fr. 1578, fo 214*a*—fo 214*c*.
J = Berne, Bibl. Bongarsiana 205, fo 378*a*—fo 379*b*.
K = Ars. f. 2765, fo 1ro (copy of MS. B).
L = Ars. f. 2768, fo 126vo (copy of MS. C).
M = Ars. f. 3123, pages 134–136 (copy of MS. F).
N = ? Clermont-Ferrand, bibl. mun. 249, fo 17vo—fo 17vo.

Of these, A, B and C were the only manuscripts known to M. Jubinal in 1835, when he published the *editio princeps* of our poem. MS. D came to the knowledge of M. Constans while his edition of 1876 was passing through the press.[18] MSS. E and F were first used by M. Constans in his edition of 1884;[19] MS. G was published by Prof. G. Binz in 1890,[20] but has never been made use of for an edition. MSS. H, J, K, L, M and N have all been discovered by me in the course of my studies on the poem; of these, MSS. K, L and M are merely the modern copies made for M. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, and are of no special importance. MS. N contains only a short fragment, whose attribution to a lost version of our poem is somewhat doubtful.

3.—*Historic Growth of the Poem.*

The *Évangile aux Femmes* undoubtedly has its greatest interest as an example of the vicissitudes of a popular poem

[18] See the first article referred to in Note 12.
[19] See the second article referred to in Note 12. This manuscript was known already to M. Dinaux; cf. G. Naetebus, *l. c.*
[20] See Note 15*f*.

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in the hands of the trouveurs; indeed, it is probably the best example we have of a poem that has undergone successive transformations at the hands of the various wandering poets who made it their especial business to amuse and entertain the people, from whom they obtained their livelihood. For the last-named purpose our poem must have been admirably adapted, especially when the heads of the assembled company had already been somewhat heated by the potations of the evening. Such was, no doubt, the chief purpose which the poem served during the long centuries that it remained a general favorite.

We may regard it as extremely likely that the texts now known to us were by no means the only versions which were made, and it seems quite probable that in the course of time still other forms of this poem will come to light.

The almost complete disconnection existing between the separate quatrains in the original form of our poem made it an extremely easy matter for any one with only a moderate talent for versification to add, change or omit stanzas at will; hence there readily arose the widely divergent versions still preserved to us in the nine old manuscripts which are now known to contain the poem. The very attractive and piquant method of metrical construction which formed the essential feature of the versification gave an especial popularity to a satire on women that would have been eagerly heard even without this unusual formal attractiveness.

Our poem may, I think, well be claimed as an integral part of that essentially Old-French form of literature, the Fabliau, taking this term in its widest sense, a signification which the French themselves seem to have attached to the term during the Middle Ages.

The special features of the poem which have been mentioned in the preceding pages, when regarded in their entirety, are sufficient to make the *Évangile aux Femmes* a poem of unusual interest to Romance scholars in general, and of yet greater interest to those whose special field is Old-French literature.

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B.—AUTHORSHIP.

The following six suppositions present themselves for consideration in connection with the question of the authorship of the *Évangile aux Femmes:*

1. Marie de France.
2. Marie de Compiègne.
3. Jehan Durpain.
4. Jehan Dupin.
5. Jehan Doviaulx.
6. Anonymous Île-de-France monk.

They will be discussed in the order given above.

1.—*Marie de France.*

The claims that have been put forward for this celebrated Norman poetess may readily be disproved. In each of her three authentic works she has mentioned her own name,[21] twice simply as *Marie* and the third time as:

Marie ai nun, si sui de France.

Upon the strength of this passage alone, M. Claude Fauchet[22] gave her the distinctive name of *Marie de France*, to which she has no real claim. Both Denys Piramus, in his

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[21] *a. Lais, Guigemar*, vv. 3–4:

Oëz, seignur, que dit Marie,
ki en sun tens pas ne s'oblie.

(Warnke, *Lais*, p. 5.)

b. L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz, vv. 2297–2298:

Jo, Marie, ai mis en memoire
le livre de l'Espurgatoire.

(Jenkins, ed. 1894, p. 143.)

c. Ysopet, Epilogue, v. 4:

Marie ai nun, si sui de France.

(Roquefort, ed. compl. works, 1830, Vol. II, p. 401.)

[22] *a. Recueil de l'Origine et Poésie Française*, Paris, 1610, p. 579 (as quoted by Prof. Warnke, *Lais*, p. iii). (*Non vidimus.*) See also Note 2. Possibly the poetess was thus known even before Fauchet's time.

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Vie de Saint Edmond,[23] and the *Couronnement de Renart*[24] give only her Christian name; other contemporary mentions of her are wholly wanting. This being the state of the case, it was not astonishing that the older French scholars should have seized upon the *Évangile aux Femmes* as affording further evidence concerning this *Marie*. In three of the versions of our poem that have come down to us there occur a pair of introductory quatrains in which the name *Marie de Compiègne* is found. This name was immediately identified with that of the celebrated Norman poetess, whose name lacked a desirable completeness and whose birthplace was unknown. As Marie had mentioned her own name in each of her other works, it was argued that she would in all probability not have failed to do so in this; and so, finally, it must have been she herself who wrote it, though a satire on her own sex.[25]

Prof. Mall has, however, conclusively shown that the quatrains in question are merely a late interpolation,[26] and can therefore have no weight as evidence of Marie's authorship.

2.—*Marie de Compiègne.*

Having established, as Prof. Mall has done,[27] that *Marie de Compiègne* is not identical with the Norman poetess, there would still remain the possibility that this other *Marie*, whoever she might be, was the authoress of our poem.[28]

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[23] *a.* De la Rue, *Essais*, Vol. III, p. 56. (See Note 6*d*.)

b. M. Francisque Michel, *Rapport*, etc., p. 250. (*Non vidimus;* referred to by Prof. Warnke, *Lais*, p. v.)

c. M. Gaston Paris, *Litt.*, 2d ed., p. 215 (par. 148). (See Note 15*d*.)

[24] M. Méon, *Roman de Renart*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

[25] *a.* M. Roquefort, *Glossaire*, *l. c.* (See Note 6*c*.)

b. M. Amaury Duval, *Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XIX, p. 739. (See Note 9*d*.)

c. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, pp. 85–86 especially.

d. M. A. Boucherie, Rdlr X, 200–201: review of M. Constans, *M. de C.*

[26] Zfrp I, 337–356. (See Note 11.)

[27] Zfrp I, 337–356. (See Note 11.)

[28] M. Amaury Duval, *Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XIX, p. 739, note 1. (See Note 9*d*.)

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This theory is, however, disproved by the fact of the introductory quatrains referred to above being a late interpolation, and there being furthermore no warrant in the Old-French text for supposing that it was intended to designate *Marie de Compiègne* as the writer of the poem.

3.—*Jehan Durpain.*

Many of the older scholars being acquainted with only one or two of the manuscripts of our poem, were fain to accept the statement found in the final quatrain of versions B and C that the poem had been composed by a certain *Jehan Durpain*, a monk of Vaucelles, otherwise unknown.[29]

Prof. Mall has shown that this quatrain was likewise a late interpolation, whose author attempted to take to himself all the credit for this entertaining satire.[30]

4.—*Jehan Dupin.*

Some of the older scholars were much inclined to identify the writer Jehan Durpain mentioned above, with a certain historical character named Jehan Dupin, who lived from 1302 to 1372, and wrote a long satirical work known as:

Les Melancholies Jehan Dupin sur les Conditions de ce Monde, ou Le Livre de Mandevie.[31]

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[29] *a.* M. Claude Fauchet, *l. c.* (See Note 2.)

b. M. Lacroix du Maine, *l. c.* (See Note 3*b*.)

c. L'Abbé Goujet, *l. c.* (See Note 6*a*.)

d. M. Arthur Dinaux, *l. c.* (See Note 9*e*.)

[30] Zfrp I, 337–356.

[31] *a.* B. N. f. 451, 1002, 1146, 1147, 1149, 1602, 1603, 1876 and 25519.

b. Le livre de Bonne vie, qui est appelle Mandevie, Chambery, Neyret, 1485.

c. Le Champ verteux de bonne vie, Paris, Michel le Noir, ab. 1520.

d. L'Abbé Goujet, *l. c.*, Vol. IX, pp. 96–104. (See Note 6*a*.) (*Non vidimus*.)

e. M. Dinaux, *Trouv. Cambrésiens*, 1837, 8vo. See p. 166. (*Non vidimus;* referred to by M. Dinaux, *Trouv. Flandre*, p. 310, note.) According to the testimony of G. Naetebus, *l. c.*, our poem was here published by M. Dinaux, pp. 166–172.

f. M. Paulin Paris, *l. c.*, Vol. IV, p. 179. (See Note 3*b*.)

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This writer, however, belonged to a later epoch than the period when our poem was composed, and so must be unconditionally rejected.

5.—*Jehan Doviaulx.*

This name takes the place of that of Jehan Durpain in the final quatrain of version J, but is to be absolutely rejected as an evident change in the before-mentioned interpolation.[32]

6.—*Anonymous Île-de-France Monk.*

Having rejected all other claimants, there only remains the alternative of an anonymous author, and the internal evidence points to an Île-de-France monk, as was demonstrated by Prof. Mall some years ago.[33]

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[32] *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium* (*Bibliotheca Bongarsiana*), edidit et praefatus est Hermannus Hagen. Addita est Bongarsii imago. Bibl. Publ. Bern. Collegii Auspiciis. Bernae, typis B. F. Haller, 1875. 8vo, lxvii and 662 pp. See page 254, where the name is spelt *Jehan d'Oriaulx*, as also in the *Index*, pp. 578 and 592.

[33] Zfrp I, 337–356.

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C.—TITLE.

All of the manuscripts that contain our poem, except C, E, H and L (a copy of C), give the heading *L'Évangile aux Femmes*, varying only in the preposition used and in the orthography. Several of the manuscripts also contain the same phrase at the end of the poem, including MSS. C and L of those mentioned above, so that there only remain to be considered MSS. E and H.

MS. E begins abruptly, as there is a lacuna immediately preceding our poem; hence the only manuscript which in reality presents a different title is H, in which the poem is headed:

La fiance que on doit auoir en femme.

There can thus be really no doubt as to the proper title of the poem for us, and it was only owing to insufficient evidence that Prof. Mall was led to suppose that the title by which the poem has been almost universally known to scholars was due merely to an interpolator.[34]

B. M. Harl. 4333, fo 113*d*, contains a poem which is likewise headed:

C'est l'evangile de fames.

This poem was for some years supposed to be the same as the one here edited,[35] but is now known to be a version of the *Chastiemusart*.[36]

There is likewise another work in Old-French literature which has sometimes been known by the same title as our

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[34] Zfrp VIII, 449–455. (See Note 13.)

[35] *a.* Mr. Wanley, *Cat. Harl. MSS.*, Vol. III, p. 137. (See Note 6*b*.)

b. Ro I (1872), pp. 190–215: M. Paul Meyer, *Henri D'Andéli et le Chancelier Philippe.* See p. 209.

c. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 24, note.

d. Mr. Ward, *Cat. Rom.*, Vol. I (1883), p. 811. (See Note 15*h*.)

e. Prof. Mall, Zfrp VIII, p. 455, note.

[36] Ro XV (1886), pp. 603–610: M. Paul Meyer, *Le Chastie-musart d'après le ms. Harléien* 4333. See p. 606, note.

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poem; namely, *Le Livre des Connoilles* (or *Quenouilles*, in its modern form), a work full of old wives' tales.

It is possibly the latter work which was translated into Middle Dutch under the title of:

Het Evangelie der Vrouwen,

according to the unverified testimony of Prof. Willem de Clerq, rather than our poem.[37]

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[37] Some of the oldest editions of this work known to have been printed are the following:

a. Evangiles des quenoilles, Colard Mansion, Bruges, ab. 1475.

b. Evangiles des quenoilles, Math. Husz, Lyon, ab. 1480.

c. Le Liure des Conoilles, Lyon, ab. 1480.

d. Les euangiles des connoilles, Jean Mareschal, Lyon, 1493.

e. Le liure des quenoilles, Raulin Gaultier, Rouen, no date.

Compare: *Verhandelingen der Tweede Klasse van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde, en Schoone Kunsten.* Derde Deel. Te Amsterdam, ter Boeken Kunstplaat, Drukkerij van Pieper (en) Tpenbuur, 1824. (*Non vidimus.*)

Willem de Clerq, *Verhandeling: Welken invloed heeft vreemde letterkunde, inzonderheit de italiaansche, spaansche en duitsche, gehad op de nederlandsche taal en letterkunde, sints het begin der 15e eeuw tot op onze dagen?*

P. 67, thus: ". . . . . het Evangelie der Vrouwen enz. Het laatste dezer werken werd reeds vroeg vertaald."

The above reference is due to the kindness of Dr. Fonger De Haan, Instructor in Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

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D.—RELATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

In a consideration of the questions raised by the *Évangile aux Femmes* as a whole, it becomes evident that by far the most important is that of the Relations of the Manuscripts, for on this question all the others depend in a great measure; therefore to an investigation of this point attention will now be directed.

Having already enumerated the various manuscripts, I will now discuss each one separately, its date, its scribe, its dialect, and such other matters as may present themselves for investigation in each individual case. The manuscripts will be taken up in chronological order, as far as it is possible to determine this order with any degree of plausibility.[88]

1.—*Dates of the Manuscripts.*

MS. A.

This manuscript has been known to Romance scholars from earliest times as containing a large collection of Old-French fabliaus; in truth, it is one of the most important of such manuscripts. It has been mentioned by a great many scholars in their critical editions of works contained in it, and twice have its contents been given at length:

1. *Barlaam und Josaphat*, herausgegeben von Hermann Zotenberg und Paul Meyer, Tübingen, 1864, pp. 329-335.[89]

2. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 248–252.

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[88] The editor is aware that in his remarks with regard to these manuscripts the tendency has been to make statements, often perhaps with too great positiveness, concerning matters open to reasonable doubt. Where such is the case he will be grateful for correction by those more competent to judge of such questions than himself.

[89] *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Vol. 75.

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Both of these descriptions are from the pen of M. Paul Meyer, according to his own statement.

In the first-mentioned of these descriptions, MS. A was assigned to about 1285; in the other it is merely assigned to the thirteenth century, it being the custom in the catalogue in question not to specify more closely the dates of manuscripts unless known exactly.[40]

In the former work it is given as:[41]

"ausgeführt von zwei schreibern um 1285, wie diss aus bl. cccxxiij vo, sp. 1...erhellt, und dann aus einem bl. clx vo, sp. 2 befindlichen gedichte über den tod Enguerands, bischofs von Cambrai, der in eben demselben jahre starb."

Our poem occurs almost at the very end, and is probably to be ascribed to a hand somewhat later than that which copied the bulk of the manuscript;[42] hence we are justified in assigning the copying of our poem approximately to the year 1300.

Prof. Mall, basing his views upon the statements of M. Constans, regarded this manuscript as of the early part of the thirteenth century,[43] a date for which no evidence has been adduced.

MS. F.

The only other manuscript which appears to be of an age approaching that of the one just discussed is MS. F. It, too, has been frequently mentioned by Romance scholars, though not quite so well known, nor does it contain so many fabliaus. The only detailed description of it that I have found is in M. Leroux de Lincy's edition of the *Roman des Sept Sages*, Paris, 1838, pp. xxxj-xxxiv.

It is there assigned to the thirteenth century; but Prof. Mall had some doubts on the subject,[44] although he states

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[40] This statement may be readily verified by a glance at the descriptions in the volume cited.

[41] P. 329. Compare also the statements of M. Paul Meyer, Ro XIII, 629–630.

[42] M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 28.

[43] Zfrp I, 337–356.

[44] Zfrp VIII, p. 454, note. Compare also Ro XIII, 629-630.

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that the date 1316 is expressly given on fo 150. Hence we may also, with M. Paul Meyer, fitly assign this version of our poem to about the year 1300.

MS. H.

We next come to a manuscript which has remained wholly unknown to Romance scholars who have busied themselves with the editing of Old-French texts.[45] It is at present at Chantilly, in the private library of the Duc d'Aumale, who purchased it at a book sale in Paris in 1868, for which sale it had been described in detail.[46] Further than this nothing is known of the manuscript, except what can be deduced from internal evidence. From this internal evidence, however, it would appear that our poem was probably here copied by the *Jongleur Henry* about 1350 at a place not as yet possible to determine.[47]

This manuscript contains, besides our poem, a large number of Old-French poems more or less closely connected with the vast domain of Fabliau Literature.[48] In this instance again do we see that the *Évangile aux Femmes* was habitually associated with that class of entertaining literature, nor is this the last occasion in this investigation on which our attention will be called to this fact.[49]

MS. B.

Nearly contemporaneous with the manuscript just mentioned would appear to be another well-known collection of fabliaus, namely MS. B; in fact, this manuscript contains

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[45] Zfrp XVIII (1894), pp. 267–268: George C. Keidel, *A New Manuscript of the Évangile aux Femmes;* reviewed by M. Paul Meyer, Ro XXIII, 615–616.

[46] M. Claudin, *Catalogue de la Vente V. Luzarche*, Paris, 1868, Vol. II, pp. 344–352, No. 6310.

[47] Compare the description just cited.

[48] Compare the description just cited, and Ro XXIII, 615–616.

[49] Compare MSS. B, D, J, E and C.

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more fabliaus than any other collection in existence.[50] It has been described in detail in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 94-96. The copy of our poem would appear to have been written by Jehan Durpain at or near Cambrai about the year 1350.

MS. D.

MS. D is only a few years at most younger than the two manuscripts last mentioned. It was written for the part containing our poem about 1355 by a monk at Paris, as appears from the evidence adduced by M. Gaston Paris in his detailed description of the manuscript in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, Vol. I (1875), pp. 44-49. It is probably the most valuable of all the manuscripts of the *Évangile aux Femmes*.[51]

MS. N.

This manuscript contains numerous short extracts, and was fully described by M. C. Couderc in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, Vol. XIV (1889), pp. 98-114. It is there assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is a manuscript that has seen rough usage.

MS. J.

This manuscript was written for the part containing our poem, as would seem from the internal evidence afforded by numerous legal documents which it contains, by one Adam Clement, at Sens, about 1425. The manuscript is one which,

[50] *Les Fabliaux, Études de Littérature Populaire et d'Histoire Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, par Joseph Bédier. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée. Paris, Bouillon, 1895. 8vo, viii and 499 pp. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, publiée sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. *Sciences Philologiques et Historiques.* Quatre-vingt-dix-huitième fascicule.) See p. 440.

[51] Zfrp I, 337-356, and VIII, 449-455.

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though known to exist for many years,[52] has never attracted the attention of scholars to any marked degree, so that the version of the *Évangile aux Femmes* which it contains had escaped the attention of all the previous editors. This would seem to be one of the more important texts, as showing especially the wide dissemination of the poem.

MS. E.

One of the most curious of all the versions is that contained in MS. E, and it is a striking example in another direction of the fate which sometimes befell Old-French poems that were the favorites of the people. This manuscript was probably written at Metz by Philippe II. Desch, about 1462, as has been conclusively shown in the very careful description of it given by M. François Bonnardot in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, Vol. II, (1876), pp. 64-124. The manuscript is not very well known and possesses a special character as a miscellaneous collection of a great variety of works written down at hazard, it would seem, just as they were met with in the course of an extensive reading by several members of the same family and covering a long series of years. The language of this version shows a marked influence by the Lorraine dialect, in whose territory it was written.

MS. C.

MS. C is another one of the famous collections of Old-French fabliaus. Its date, however, is very late, as it was written about 1490 by an anonymous Parisian scribe. It was at one time in the possession of Henri de Mesmes (M. de Roissi, who died in 1596), who exchanged it for "une

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[52] *a.* J. R. Sinnerus, *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium*, Vol. I (1760), p. 23; Vol. II (1770), p. 577; and Vol. III (1772), pp. 412 and 555. (*Non vidimus;* references given by Hagen, *l. c.*, p. 653.)

b. Hagen, *l. c.*, pp. 248–254. (See Note 32.)

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cronique françoise" with the celebrated Claude Fauchet.[53] It has been described at length in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 266-268.

The version here given appears to be the result of a conscious effort on the part of the scribe to give a complete text of the poem, for which purpose he has evidently drawn on two different manuscripts, a thing of rare occurrence in Old-French literature.[54]

MS. G.

Latest of all the genuine Old-French manuscripts of the *Évangile aux Femmes* is no doubt that preserved at Basel. This manuscript is possessed of a peculiar interest as showing still another unusual phenomenon in the history of palæography in general. Though it contains only our short poem, the manuscript is in every other respect the same as are manuscripts consisting of hundreds of folios. A complete manuscript of only eight folios is indeed a rarity,[55] and as such is worthy of our especial attention. It seems never to have been separated from the books and manuscripts of the man who wrote it; indeed, there must have been quite a special reason that caused this copy to be made at all.[56]

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[53] *a.* M. Paul Meyer, Ro I (1872), p. 365, note 1.

b. Les Fabulistes Latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge, par Léopold Hervieux, ancien avocat à la Cour d'appel de Paris, ancien agréé au Tribunal de Commerce de la Seine. *Phèdre et ses anciens imitateurs directs et indirects.* Tome I, Paris, Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 56 rue Jacob, 1884. 8vo, viii and 730 pp. See p. 618.

c. Ditto; Deuxième édition entièrement refondue, 1893, p. 743.

[54] Compare the following passage from a letter written to the present editor by the late Prof. Eduard Schwan, Jena, Jan. 17, 1893:

"Den Fall, dass eine Hdschr. aus zwei Vorlagen geschöpft, resp. dass ein (verlornes) Msc. nach einer Hdschr. einer anderen Gruppe teilweise corrigiert worden sei, wird man sich hüten müssen, ohne sichere Beweise anzunehmen."

[55] Only one other case is known to me of an Old-French manuscript as short as this.

[56] Compare the following passage from a letter to the present editor by Prof. Gustav Binz, Librarian of the University of Basel, dated Feb. 18, 1893:

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The investigations which follow in the present treatise concerning the interrelations of these various manuscripts just mentioned make it quite probable that other manuscripts will be discovered in the course of time, and as we become more and more familiar with the manuscript treasures bequeathed to us by the Middle Ages; but until such discoveries are made we shall have to content ourselves with those versions which we now have, and try to make out, as well as may be with the material at hand, the history of this most interesting poem.

There still remain to be noticed several modern copies of the older manuscripts, which, though of no great importance in themselves, still deserve mention as showing the interest taken in our poem even in the last century. They are as follows:

MSS. K, L and M.

These three manuscripts contain copies of three older manuscripts now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris.

" Zunächst muss ich zu der in der Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. gegebenen Altersbestimmung bemerken, dass ich nach wiederholten Vergleichung zu der Meinung gekommen bin, die Handschrift könne vielleicht auch jünger sein und aus dem Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts stammen. Wie dieselbe unter die Amerbachschen Papiere, die auf der hiesigen Universitätsbibliothek aufbewahrt werden, gerathen ist, kann ich Ihnen leider nicht sagen. Dass sie der um 1472 in Paris studierende berühmte Drucker Johannes Amerbach von dort mitgebracht habe, ist mir bei der ernsthaften Sinnesart dieses Mannes weniger wahrscheinlich, als dass einer der beiden Söhne Bruno u. Basilius Amerbach, welche von 1501–1506 in Paris ihren Studien oblagen, und von denen namentlich Basilius eine Zeitlang ein lustiges Studentenleben führte, an dem witzigen Gedichte Gefallen gefunden und eine Abschrift davon sich erworben habe. Unmöglich wäre aber auch nicht dass sie erst durch den jüngsten Sohn Bonifacius, den später berühmten Juristen und Freund des Erasmus von Rotterdam, der 1520–1521 in Avignon studierte, nach Basel gelangt wäre. Die Annahme, dass etwa durch die Anhörung des alten und beliebten Liedes in einem Kreise fröhlicher Zecher einer der jungen Studenten gereizt worden wäre, sich eine Copie desselben zu verschaffen, könnte vielleicht auch als Erklärung für die allerdings seltene Thatsache dienen, dass auf nur wenigen Blättern ein vollständiger Text in sich abgeschlossen vorhanden wäre. Doch sind das alles Vermuthungen, die nur mehr oder weniger Wahrscheinlichkeit beanspruchen dürfen."

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They were made for M. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye some time toward the close of the last century, and contain marginal explanations. It is quite likely that M. Jubinal availed himself of two of them for his *editio princeps* of our poem, as he distinctly states in his preface[57] that he had not hesitated to avail himself of the explanations to be found in certain copies of these Old-French poems which had been made for M. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, though he makes no separate statement in this connection for our particular poem.[58] It was these remarks of M. Jubinal that led to my discovery of the existence of these manuscripts as containing copies of the *Évangile aux Femmes.*

Having thus given a brief account of the chief points of interest in connection with the various manuscripts, I will now proceed to a more detailed consideration of the evidence which they afford; and first of all, I will endeavor to construct a suitable manuscript scheme, in regard to which arose the chief point of contention between Prof. Mall and M. Constans, and one which was left by them with a result almost entirely nugatory.[59]

2.—*Construction of a Manuscript Scheme.*

Having already determined the dates of the manuscripts as well as may be, the first thing to be done is to divide them into chronological groups. We thus get three groups as follows:

Early Group: A and F (ab. 1300).

Middle Group: H, B and D (ab. 1350).

Late Group: J, E, C and G (15th cent.).

The object of thus dividing the material into chronological groups is to get a basis upon which to found arguments

[57] *Jongl.*, p. 14.

[58] For the details of this use, as far as they may now be determined from internal evidence, see the notes given to the various texts in question in Part II.

[59] See especially the following articles:

a. Prof. Mall, Zfrp I, 337–356.

b. M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 24–36.

c. Prof. Mall, Zfrp VIII, 449–455.

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showing that certain manuscripts could not possibly have been copied from certain others; that is, no manuscript of an earlier group could, of course, have been derived from one of a later group, while within a group itself such a statement of interrelation cannot be made with any degree of certainty as founded upon time relations merely, because the determination of the exact year in which a certain manuscript was written is, in general, not sufficiently assured to enable us to base an argument upon such a determination when the dates approximate one another.

The next preparatory step is to construct a Table of Corresponding Quatrains for purposes of closer comparison.

M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 27, gave such a table for MSS. A, B, C and D, extending it later, Zfrp VIII, 25, to MSS. E and F. I have here added the newly discovered MSS. G, H and J, corrected some few errors, and rearranged the whole according to the following principles:

1. As the order of the quatrains in the various manuscripts is quite conflicting, it is impossible to arrange the rows of similar quatrains so that the proper order is preserved in each manuscript separately (allowing intervening blank spaces).

2. Nor does it, on the other hand, seem advisable to take the order of any one or two of the longer manuscripts and to let the remainder be in any order whatever, as M. Constans has done in his table.

3. The best mode of reducing the unavoidable confusion to the smallest possible limit is to arrange the parallel rows in such a manner that as many of the manuscripts as possible may preserve the proper order either in whole or in part.

4. The resulting disorder should be concentrated as much as possible in those manuscripts which in other respects show the greatest variation from the common type.

In the following table it has been possible on these principles, by throwing the disorder into MSS. C, F and G, to attain the following success:

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1. No inversion in MS. J.
2. One inversion in MS. H.
3. But few inversions in MSS. A, B, D and E.

3.—*Table of Corresponding Quatrains.*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..
..	..	2	2	..	..	2	..	..
1	1	3	3	..	1	..	1	1
2	2	5	..	..	2	..	3	..
3	3	4	4	..	3	11	2	2
..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	4	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	5	14	..	1	..	..	..	3
..	..	17	13	..	15	12	..	4
..	..	20	14	9	..	14	..	5
6	6	15	5	2	10	5	4	6
7	7	16	6	..	14	4	5	7
8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	9	..	..	7	21	..	..	8
17	14	..	8	..	..	6	..	..
29	..	18	9	..	..	7	..	9
30	..	10	..	8	..	..	..	10
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
..	..	19	..	..	16	..	..	12
..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..
..	..	11	..	..	19	..	..	..
31	..	..	10	..	5	8	..	13
..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..

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A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
32	..	21	11	..	9	9	..	..
33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
10	10	22	12	3	..	13	6	15
11	..	23	..	4	20	10	7	16
12	11	24	7	5	..	3	8	17
..	12	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	18
14	13	..	..	..	7	..	..	19
..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	23	..	10	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..
..	..	9	..	..	11	..	..	20
..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..
15	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	21
..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	16	32	..	..	..	..	13	22
16	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..

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A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
..	..	27	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..

4.—*Preliminary Grouping of the Manuscripts.*

A preliminary grouping of the manuscripts, based on the above Table of Corresponding Quatrains, may be made as follows:

1. MSS. A and B are closely connected, as may be seen from the fact that the first ten quatrains in each are the same, while the other manuscripts vary widely.

2. MSS. D and G are also closely connected, as is evident from the fact that of the fourteen quatrains in each, thirteen are common; the other manuscripts vary widely.

3. MS. C begins by following MSS. D and G, but later coincides largely with MSS. A and B. It is apparent also that MSS. H and J are in a considerable degree related to MSS. B and C, for they agree in having their final quatrains contain the name of a claimant for the authorship of the poem.

4. MSS. E and F show no very close connection with any of the other manuscripts, nor with each other.

The above rough grouping may be represented to the eye as follows:

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The Table of Corresponding Quatrains given above is, however, in its very nature rather unreliable in questions of the kind here treated, because of the fact that it frequently happens that a quatrain in one manuscript agrees partly with one, partly with another quatrain in some other manuscript; hence the relations shown by the table in question appear to be much simpler than they are in reality, and it becomes necessary for us to examine the matter more closely.

In order to attain to greater accuracy in the question of correspondences I have constructed a Table of Corresponding Verses, in which are comprised all verses that are equivalent for at least one-half of their length; but even with this low limit for comparison there are some portions which offer difficulty in the attempt properly to place them.

5.—*Accurate Manuscript Scheme.*

Proceeding to take into consideration the evidence afforded by this more accurate table (here omitted for want of space), we are obliged to modify the above scheme into a much more complicated one, as follows:

5. As A 61-64, 41-44 = C 49-52, 89-92 respectively, and as the former set are wanting in all of the other versions, while those of the latter set occur in all of them except B and D, it follows that there must have been a text tradition descending from A to C which did not pass through B; hence we must insert in the scheme a lost manuscript which was the common source of B and the text tradition which reached C. This lost manuscript we will denote by p. It will be noted that B is in the Middle Group of manuscripts, while A is in the Early Group and C is in the Late Group. In the following arguments mention of these groups will be omitted, although they are constantly to be borne in mind because of the important bearing they have upon the matter under investigation.

6. As both A and B have a number of verses at the end in which they wholly differ, it will be necessary to insert a lost manuscript q which was the common source of A and p.

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7. As the last four verses of B, C and H agree closely, while those of J do so only in general outline, and all the other versions do not contain them, it will be necessary to suppose them to have been added in *p*, and J to have been derived from H or a closely related manuscript.

8. As, however, J has numerous verses in common with other versions which are not found in H, it will have to be taken out of *r*, the supposed common source of H, J and C.

9. As D and G each contain four verses which are not found in the other, a common source *s* will need to be posited, which may at the same time have been a source of C.

10. As the first four verses of E go with A, B, C and J, while they are wanting in D, F, G and H, we may take E out of *p*, bearing in mind that E probably omitted many quatrains on purpose, and is incomplete at the beginning because of a lacuna in the manuscript.

11. As F 61-64 = C 73-76 = J 45-48, while these verses are wanting in the other versions, we may take F out of *t*, common source of J and C.

Our manuscript scheme has now assumed the following form:

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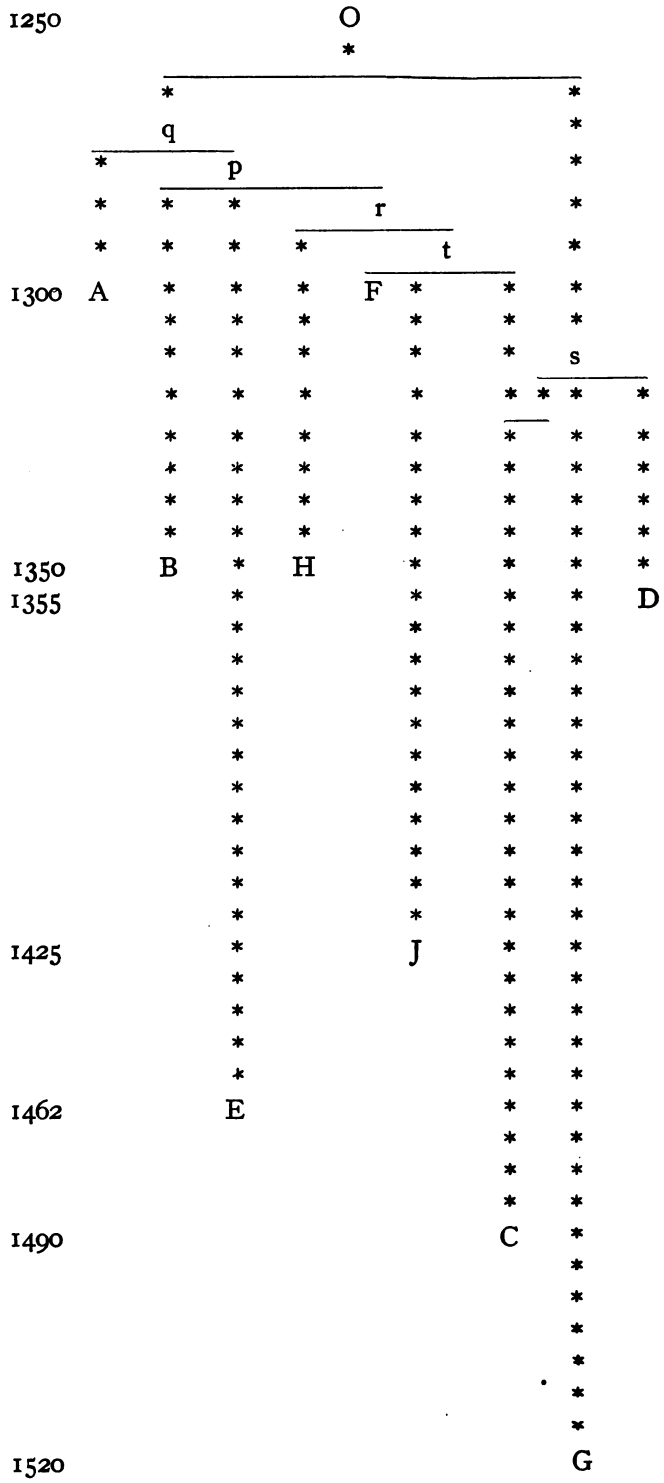

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PART II.

TEXTS AND NOTES.

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VERSION A.

B. N. f. 1553, fo 519*d*—fo 520*b*.

Li Ewangilles des Femes.

I

1 Quico(n)q(ue)s velt mener pure (et) saintisme vie,
2 Aint femes si les croie (et) dou tout s'i afie;

NOTE.—It is owing to the kindness of Prof. Carl Wahlund, of Upsala, Sweden, that I am enabled to embellish this edition with the comic illustrative cuts placed at the beginning of each version. They were especially made for him by Mr. Agi Lindegren, a Swedish artist, and originally appeared in the *édition de luxe* of Prof. Wahlund's Swedish translation of a part of our poem which was published by him in 1892.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

General Remarks.—a. Neither quatrains nor verses are numbered in the several manuscripts of the versions here published, but for ease of reference both quatrains and verses have here been numbered consecutively for each version.

b. Such letters as have resulted from the resolution of abbreviations occurring in the manuscripts are enclosed in parentheses in order to enhance the critical value of the texts here presented.

c. As the punctuation found in the manuscripts is far from being employed according to a uniform system, and as it is at best but scanty and uncertain, I have thought it best to pay no attention whatever to it, and to introduce the modern system in my constituted text.

d. A similar remark applies to the use of capitals in the manuscripts; they have been introduced in the text where required by modern usage.

HEADING.—The heading is written in red ink.

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3 Car p(ar) eles sera s[a] ame sai(n)tefie,
4 Ausi c(er)tai(n)s en soit, (com) cho q(u)i est n'est mie.

II.

5 Lors (con)sax est ta(n)t dous, (et) ta(n)t vrais (et) ta(n)t pi(ex),
6 Ki l'ot se b(ie)n i pe(n)se, pl(us) li est dous q(ue) miex.
7 Meres so(n)t de p(ar)oles, ge(n)t t(r)aient de periex,
8 E(n)si co(m) iou di voir lor aït Damediex!

III.

9 Onq(ue)s nul b(ie)n n'ama ho(m) se feme n'ot cier;
10 Lor v(er)t(us) (et) lor g(r)asses fait m(o)lt a m(er)uellier;
11 Car on les puet ainsi rep(re)nd(r)e (et) castoier,
12 Co(m) o(n) poroit la m(er) d'u(n) tamis espusier.

IV.

13 Kico(n)q(ue)s t(r)ueue e(n) feme disc(r)etio(n) ne bien,
14 Sache bien sans dota(n)ce ce n'est mie do sie(n);

---

[2] *s[a] ame:* the manuscript reading here may be interpreted as either *fame*, or *same* with a long *s*; that *fame* cannot be the correct interpretation is proved by the fact that this manuscript regularly spells the word for woman *feme* (as, for instance, in 65: 124 has *femme*); furthermore, metrical considerations preclude the use of both *fame* and *s'ame*, as there would be a syllable lacking. Hence it seems best to suppose that the scribe unintentionally omitted one *a*, and we obtain the reading given above in the text.

[5] *pi(ex)*: = *pieus*; or should we read *pi(us)* in accordance with the evidence of *pl(us)* in the next verse? The question of rhyme is an interesting one. Cf. in addition the form *miex* in verse 67.

[7] *t(r)aient:* a vowel written above the line must have an *r* introduced before it; there seems to be no exception to this rule.

[10] *m(o)lt:* this abbreviation occurs: 10, 37, 57, 71 (assured by *molt* 37, 89, 112).

[11] *rep(re)nd(re)*: this abbreviation is also found in *p(re)ste* 100.

[12] *tamis:* compare the variants for this word in the corresponding verses of the other versions.

[14] *do:* this version has the forms: *do* 14; *dou* 2, 48; *cho* 4, 29, 30, 42, 62, 79; *chou* 30, 109; *ce* 124; *iou* 8; *doç* 15; *douç* 51; *dous* 5, 6. Similar variations in other words could be cited.

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15 Mais s'ele se fait humle, sage, de doç mai(n)tie(n),
16 Soutiueme(n)t velt dire: " Biax amis, cha reuie(n)!"

V.

17 Voies k'ome puet est(r)e a aise, seure (et) lie,
18 Qa(n)t feme l'a en cure (et) ele le castie;
19 (Com)me brebis sa(m)ble humle, s'est (com) lio(n)s hardie;
20 B(ie)n doit est(r)e apielee: " I'ai a no(m) *Fausifie.*"

VI.

21 Ho(n)s q(u)i feme a e(n) cure, (com)m(en)t aroit mesaise,
22 C'est vne medechine q(u)i de tos max apaise;
23 O(n) ni puet est(r)e aussi asseür (et) a aise,
24 Co(m)e u(n) plai(n) poi(n)s d'estoupes e(n) .i. arda(n)t fornaise.

VII.

25 Coi c'o(n) die de f(eme), c'est vne g(r)ant m(er)uelle,
26 De bie(n) dire (et) de faire, cascune se t(r)avelle,
27 (Et) ausi se prouoit sagem(en)t (et) co(n)selle,
28 Co(m) fait li pauelons ki s'art a la ca(n)delle.

VIII.

29 Quel li f(eme) est en lui, cho set v poi v n(us);
30 Ne chou n'est bie(n)s apers, ne cho n'est max rep(us);

---

[15] *doç:* there are no cedillas indicated in the manuscript; the following cases have seemed to me to call for the use of sign: *doç* 15; *douç* 51; *descauç* 52; and *douçor* 85.

[18] *qa(n)t:* the *u* is omitted after a *q* only in the word *qant*, which occurs as follows: *qant* 35, 70; *qa(n)t* 18; *qa(nt)* 126. The form *quant* is not found, although M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 34, wrongly reads *quant* in verse 18.

[23] *o(n) ni:* the combination *on ni* (or *onni*, or *on n'i*) is found: 23, 40, 122; in none of these cases does it seem to have a negative force, as we should primarily expect. Cf. the expression *s'on na* 124.

[29] *v poi v n(us)*: similarly we have *v poi v nus* 38; the meaning seems to be: *few, if any*. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 36, prints: *OU PORROIT nus*, and adds the following note on p. 37:

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Humble sa(m)ble co(m) ce(n)d(r)e, la v gist arda(n)s fus,
Ki pl(us) s'asseüre, c'est li plus tos[t] perdus.

IX.

Qui t(r)op se fie e(n) feme, b(ie)n a el cuer la rage, fo 520*a*:
Se[n] pais (et) se(n) p[reu] het, (et) ai(n)me se(n) damage,
(Et) qant pl(us) li sa(m)ble humle (et) c(r)emeteuse (et) sage,
Do(n)t le croi aut(r)etant co(m) le cat au fromage.

X.

Molt a de b(ie)n en f(eme), mais il est m(o)lt repus,
Q(u')a pai(n)nes p(er)ceuoir le puet v poi v nus;
Lor sie(n)che resa(m)ble le maiso(n) Dedalus,
Puis c'o(n) ni est e(n)tre si n'e(n) puet issir nus.

"Le ms B donne une leçon plus claire, mais que nous ne saurions adopter. Le ms A porte réellement après *set* le signe abréviatif ordinaire de *ou*, qui sert également pour *or*, *ro*, et qui, se reproduisant après la syllabe *por*, nous semble devoir s'unir à elle et se lire *roi*, ou même *roit*. Nous avons donc lu *porroit*, en sous-entendant *savoir*. La même notation se rencontre d'ailleurs dans le même ms, au couplet X. b: *Qu'a peine percevoir le puet ou porroit nus*, d'après notre lecture, en sous-entendant l'infinitif du verbe déjà exprimé (*percevoir*). Il n'y a donc pas à hésiter."

This attempt at an explanation of a difficult passage is certainly an ingenious one, though appearing to be rather far-fetched. The interpretation which I have adopted seems to be quite a natural one, and is due to the kind suggestion of Dr. Thomas A. Jenkins, of Philadelphia.

[33] *tos[t]*: M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 36, prints *tos*, and considers it equal to the modern form *tous*, giving a long note on the use of *s* for *ts* in Old French. The emendation given above has, however, so much in its favor that we may readily suppose that the final *t* was omitted by the scribe through a mere oversight. Cf. the similar instance which occurs in verse 73.

[34] *se[n]*: the manuscript reads merely: *se*; the usual dash over the vowel must either have disappeared, or been omitted by an oversight of the scribe. The recurrence of the same word written with the dash in this verse leaves no room for doubt as to the correct reading.

p[reu]: only the initial *p* is legible, but the word must have originally been *preu*, as this is the corresponding word in all the versions which contain the line; namely, B 34, E 26, F 82 and J 30.

[38] *v poi v nus*: see the note on 29.

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XI.

41 Sor tote rie(n)s est f(eme) de muable talent;
42 P(ar) nat(ur)e velt faire cho c'o(n) pl(us) li deffent;
43 Vne pe(n)se, aut(r)e dist; or velt, or se repent;
44 En son p(ro)pos est f(er)me, co(m)me est fumee a ve(n)t.

XII.

45 N'est pas d(r)ois ne raisons c'o(n) de f(eme) mesdie;
46 Sages so(n)t (et) seüres, plaines de cortoisie;
47 (Et) coi c'o(n) die d'eles, faus est q(u)i n'i si fie,
48 Co(m) li paistres dou leu, q(u)i se bieste a ma(n)gie.

XIII.

49 Ho(n)s plus q(ue) rie(n)s doit f(eme) seruir (et) honorer,
50 Discretes sont (et) f(er)mes, seüres en parler;
51 Ta(n)t fait douç (et) seür e(n)t(r)e eles co(n)u(er)ser
52 Co(m)me feroit descauç p(ar)mi .i. feu aler.

XIV.

53 Co(m)paignie co(m) est sai(n)te de femẽ (et) honeste;
54 Nus n'i poroit sentir g(r)eua(n)ce ne moleste;
55 Si seür fait e(n)t(r')eles men(er) (et) ioie (et) feste,
56 Q(ue) s'o(n) estoit en mer sa(n)s mast e(n) g(r)ant te(m)peste.

XV.

57 Ie voi .iii. bie(n)s en f(eme), q(u)i m(o)lt fo(n)t a loer;
58 Humles so(n)t (et) estables, seüres e(n) parler;
59 De riens q(uẽ) on lor die, ne se puet n(us) douter,
60 Nient pl(us) q(ue) s'il estoit en .i. panier e(n) m(er).

XVI.

61 Sauoir talent de f(eme), ne (com)me(n)t se puet fai(n)d(r)e,
62 Cho ne puet bouche dire, cuer pe(n)s(er) nẽ atai(n)d(r)e,

---

[44] *co(m)me:* the MS. reads *co(m)me* (*com*), but this is evidently a case of mere dittography.

[61] *cuer:* the MS. reads *cuer(er)*, another evident case of dittography.

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63 Puis q(u'e)le velt le cose, n(us) ne le puet destrai(n)-d(r)e,
64 Nie(n)t pl(us) co(m) o(n) poroit .i. bla(n)c drap e(n) noir tai(n)d(r)e.

XVII.

65 C'est m(er)uelle de feme, onq(ue)s tele ne fu;
66 D'aë(m)plir so(n) talent a adies l'arc tendu;
67 Q(u)i le miex en cuide est(r)e, soue(n)t a tot p(er)du;
68 Ne s'e(n) set on warder; so(n)t mal p(or) bie(n) re(n)du.

XVIII.

69 Bie(n) se doit on wader, q(uë) on feme ne mueue,
70 Vole(n)t(er)s se coureche, qant ne set si co(n)treuue;
71 M(o)lt est fols q(u)i les ai(n)me, q(u)i n'e(n) va a l'es-prueue,
72 Ce fust cil qui seüst le vies loi (et) le nueue.

XIX.

73 N'es[t] sages e cortois qui de feme mesdit,
74 Car toute loiaute en eles mai(n)t (et) gist;
75 Ie ne les mesq(ue)rroie p(or) rie(n)s (c'on) me desist,
76 Nient pl(us) q(u'e)n .i. g(r)ant fu rie(n) voit q(uë) il n'arsist.

---

[68] *warder:* cf. the spelling *wader* 69; this is a good instance of uncertainty in orthography.

[70] *set si co(n)treuue:* this phrase is very obscure; perhaps the true reading is *fet*. M. Boucherie, Rdlr X, 200, considers this verse to be: "*peu intelligible.*"

[72] This verse is a characteristic fling at the clergy. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 48, prints: "le vies *lor*," appending the note:

"*Le vies l'or;* il faut sans doute lire simplement: *le vies or.*"

Having only this reading before him, M. Boucherie, Rdlr X, 200, very naturally considered this verse to be like the former one: "*peu intelligible.*"

[73] *n'es[t]*: the scribe appears to have unwittingly omitted the final *t* of this word. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 48, prints the *t*, however, without remark. Cf. the note on *tos[t]* 32.

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XX.

77 Se feme set d'u(n) home honte ni enco(m)brier,
78 De p(ar) li descou(er)s soit, ne l'estuet soignier;
79 Aussi seüreme(en)t se puet sor cho fiier,
80 Co(m) aler a eschaces p(ar) deseure .i. clokier.

XXI.

81 Se ho(n)te ne .i. blasme d'autrui vo elle sauoit,
82 Sachies p(ar) verite p(or) nie(n)t s'e(n) douteroit;
83 Car aussi vole(n)t(er)s p(or) voir le celeroit,
fo 520*b*:
84 C'uns cos e(n) .i. viuier pesq(u)ier roces iroit.

XXII.

85 Feme est e(n) loiaute (et) en douçor souvrai(n)ne,
86 Car tous chiax ki le c(r)oie(n)t a sai(n)tefi(er) amai(n)-
ne;
87 Ne cose ne diroit do(n)t aut(r)es eüst pai(n)ne,
88 P(or) auta(n)t de fin or co(m) a de keue rai(n)ne.

XXIII.

89 Molt est feme cortoise, (et) done boi(n)s (con)saus;
90 P(or) p(u)iua(n)che celer ne set nule ame teus;

---

[81] *vo elle:* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 50, has the following note:

"*Voelle.* Je ne connais pas cette forme. La mesure demande un mot de deux syllabes, et le sens exige le mot *elle*."

Perhaps by separating as I have done, we may be able to construe this passage satisfactorily. I would take *vo* as a rare survival of an ethical dative form of the second person plural of the pronoun. However, at best this appears very far-fetched, and we may consider, no doubt, the passage as hopelessly corrupt, or at most unexplained.

[90] *p(u)iua(n)che:* the word remains unexplained, but is probably to be thus spelt. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 52, spells: *pianche*, and comments:

"Le scribe a mis réellement *piuanche;* l'*i* étant audessus de l'*u*, peut être regardé comme une lettre de correction qui l'annule. *Pianche*, picard pour *piance*, est un mot assez rare qui suppose le bas-latin *piantia* (de *piare*), au sens de *qui a besoin d'une expiation, faute*, et non *d'expiation*."

M. Boucherie, Rdlr X, 200, remarks:

"Pour lire *pianche* au lieu de *pivanche*, ou *puianche*, tous mots qui me

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91 (Et) a tort (et) a droit est a tos homes feus,
92 C'a ta(n)t de loiaute houpius, ne kie(n)s, ne lex.

XXIV.

93 Feme est blance deua(n)t (et) deriere si poi(n)t,
94 P(ar) ses bla(n)ces p(ar)oles l'ome asouage (et) oint;
95 Q(u)i le croit fait sauoir, si q(ue) kie(n) fait a l'oint.

. . . . . .

XXV.

96 Feme est vns anemis, q(u)i fait e(n) petit d'eure,
97 Do(n)t trestous vns païs, vne (con)t(r)ee pleure;
98 Venins a ens el cuer, miel mostre p(ar) deseure;
99 Ne li aït ia Diex au besoi(n)g, ne sekeure.

XXVI.

100 Feme est co(m)me goupille p(r)este adies a dechoiure;
101 Aut(r)eta(n)t puet de cols co(m) vne ourse rechoiure;
102 De la mort Ih(es)u C(r)ist chiax q(u)i l'aim(en)t desoiure;
103 Del dyable est pl(us) ta(n)t pire, (com) est veni(n)s de poiure.

---

sont inconnus, il faudrait que l'*u* qui dans le ms. est surmonté de *i* fût marqué par-dessous d'un point."

Already M. Roquefort had said in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romane* (1808):

"PIANCHE: Faute, crime qu'il faut ou que l'on doit expier; *piamentum*."

95 The manuscript contains only these three verses in this quatrain, and there is no blank space whatever left for a fourth. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 52, prints the last half of this verse as the conclusion of the following verse, thus leaving two separate half-verses missing. As this quatrain is one of those special to this version, we are unable to throw any light on the matter by a comparison with other versions. Perhaps the poetaster was at a loss for a fourth verse that would rhyme with the first three that he had written, and so left this quatrain provisionally one verse short. It was then copied by our scribe as we have found it in the manuscript. Possibly, however, a fourth verse was unintentionally omitted by the scribe in copying from his model.

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XXVII.

104 En q(ue)lco(n)q(ue)s maniere q(ue) f(eme) s'aparelle,
105 Le doit on honorer, ne n'est mie m(er)uelle;
106 Car e(n) feme ne sai nule cose paraille;
107 A bie(n) faire se dort, (et) au mal ourer velle.

XXVIII.

108 Feme e(n)saigne tot dis, (et) norist (et) adrece;
109 P(ar) li va on a Diu, car chou est li adrece;
110 Ensi co(m) lo(n)gement poissons e(n) seq(ue)reche,
111 Puet viure sans iaue, li e(n)uoit Dex leëce!

XXIX.

112 Molt a de bie(n) e(n) feme, de preu, (et) d'oneste;
113 Sages so(n)t (et) entieres, (et) plai(n)nes de bo(n)te,
114 C'o(n) puet tout ausi bie(n) tenir lor amiste,
115 Co(m) on poroit garder vn glacho(n) e(n) este.

XXX.

116 Quico(n)q(ue)s voit e(n) feme ioliuete ne fieste,
117 Bie(n) puet estre asseür, c'est signes de te(m)peste;
118 N'a e(n) li de seürte, ne q(u')il a en le bieste,
119 Qui poi(n)t deuers la keue, (et) bla(n)dist de la tieste.

XXXI.

120 Il so(n)t aucunes ge(n)t, ki s'e(n) plaigne(n)t a tort,
121 Mais, p(ar) Diu! il me sa(m)ble q(uë) il ont t(r)op g(r)a(n)t tort;
122 Car on ni trueue auta(n)t d'aïde (et) de co(m)fort,
123 Q(uë) on fait el serpe(n)t qui en traïson mort.

XXXII.

124 S'o(n) na fia(n)ce e(n) fe(m)me, ce n'est mie m(er)uelle;
125 De gra(n)t loiaute sont; nus ne set sa parelle;
126 Ausi coie se taist de qa(n)t (c'on) li conselle,
127 Co(m) cil qui va huca(n)t le van (et) la corbelle.

---

[124] *s'o(n) na:* cf. *on ni* in verse 122 above, and the note on *o(n) ni* 23.
[127] *hucant:* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 58, reads: *trucant.*

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XXXIII.

128 Par verite v(us) di q(ue) nus hom ne s'ava(n)che
129 De maise feme anter, ne de lor acoi(n)ta(n)ce;
130 En le fin e(n) a on gra(n)t ho(n)te (et) mesq(ue)a(n)ce;
131 Iamais nes q(u)ier am(er), ai(n)s lor renoi c(r)ea(n)ce.

Chi define li Ewa(n)gilles des Femes.

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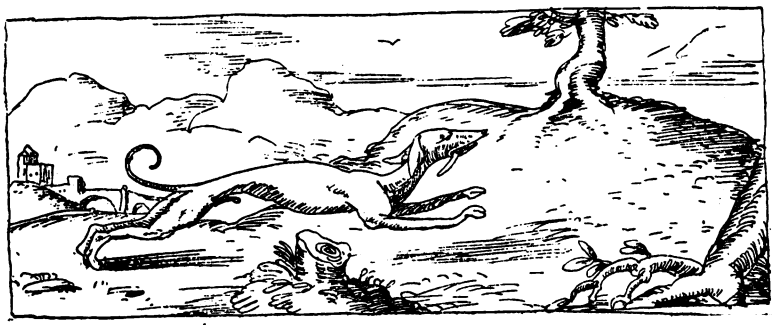

VERSION B.

B. N. f. 837, fo 201*c*—fo 202*a*.

L'Euangile aus Fames.

I.

1 Quiconques veut mener pure (et) saintisme vie,
2 Fames aint (et) les croie, et du tout s'i afie,

NOTE.—A special feature to be noted in this version is that the verses are divided in the manuscript into two parts, placed one below the other, thus forming a very narrow column. Having thus abundant space at his command, the scribe had recourse to abbreviations less frequently than would otherwise have been the case, no doubt. In many manuscripts not devoted especially to poems with twelve-syllable verses, it was found by the scribes to be impracticable to write the whole verse in one line; they therefore either divided the verse into two parts more or less equal, or they wrote the poem continuously as if it were prose. To the former class belong MSS. B and G; to the latter MS. C, in which, however, each quatrain begins a new paragraph. The division in the manuscript has been indicated in the text by spacing.

[1] *saintisme:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *tres saintz.*

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

HEADING.—At the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Paris, there is preserved a manuscript copy of this version made for M. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, which is contained in the manuscript known as: *Fonds français* 2765, fo 1ro and ff. This manuscript is referred to henceforth simply as Ars. f. 2765, and certain variations in orthography, as well as marginal notes, are quoted from it. In connection with the heading of this version we may note the following:

Ars. f. 2765 spells: *L'Evangille aux fames.* It adds: *Femmes, satire contre elles. Voy. une autre copie de cette Piece sur le M. NDe no. 2. f. 2. r. c. 2. On voit dans celle qui est ici des differences très remarquables au fo. 202. r. c. 1.* This remark refers probably to Version F, which does not have these quatrains.

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3 Et aussi soit seürs, com ce qui n'est mie;
4 Que par eles sera s'ame saintefiee.

II.

5 Lor (con)saus est tant dous, (et) ta(n)t vrais (et) tant piex,
6 Qui bie(n) les croit a certes, plus li est douz q(ue) miex;
7 Meres sont p(ar) pitie, genz getent de periex;
8 Aussi com ie di voir, lor aït Damediex!

III.

9 Onq(ue)s nul bien n'ama, q(u)i les fames n'ot chier;
10 Lor vertuz (et) lor graces font a esmerueillier;
11 Q(u)ar on les puet aussi reprendre (et) chastoier,
12 Q(ue) l'en porroit la mer d'un tamis espuisier.

IV.

13 Qui(con)q(ue)s trueue en fame discrecion ne bien,
14 Do(n)t sache sanz doutance, ce n'est mie du sien;
15 Mes ele se fet sage, hu(m)ble, (et) de douz maintien, fo 201*d*:
16 Por couuertement dire: "Douz amis, ça reuien!"

V.

17 Oiez (com)me est a aise, (et) (com)me a bone vie,
18 Hom qui se fie en fame, quant ele le chastie;
19 Humble (com)me coulon, (com)me lyon hardie,
20 Bien doit estre apelee: "J'ai a non *Faussifie*."

---

5 *(con)saus:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *conseil.*
piex: Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *pieux.*
miex: Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *miel.*
7 *periex:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *perils.*
11 *chastoier:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *corriger, reformer.*
16 *couuertement:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *tout bas, secretement.*
ça: the cedilla is not used in this manuscript; I have introduced it here, and in *ainçois* 30.
19 *coulon:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *pigeon.*

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VI.

21 Hom q(u)i fame a en cure, (com)ment auroit mesaise;
22 C'est vne medecine, q(u)i toz les maus apaise;
23 L'en i puet ausi estre asseür et a aise,
24 (Com)me plain poi(n)g d'estoupes en vne arda(n)t fornaise.

VII.

25 Quoi (c'om) die de fame, c'est vne grant m(er)ueille;
26 De bien fere (et) de dire chascun ior s'appareille;
27 (Et) ausi sagement se poruoit (et) conseille,
28 (Com) fet li papeillons, q(u)i s'art a la chandeille.

VIII.

29 Les granz bie(n)s a la fame ne puet perceuoir nus;
30 Ce n'est pas bie(n) apers, ainçois est maus repus;
31 Humble samble (com) cendre, la ou gist ardanz fus;
32 Qui plus s'i asseüre, c'est li plus tost perdus.

IX.

33 Hom qui se fie en fame, bien a el cors la rage;
34 Sa pais (et) son preu het, (et) s'aime son domage;
35 Q(u)ar (com) plus li sa(m)ble humble, (et) cremeteuse, (et) sage,
36 Adonc la croi autant (com) chat au fres fro(m)mage.

X.

37 M(ou)lt a de bien en fame, mes il est trop repus,
38 Q(u)ar a m(ou)lt grandes paines le puet perceuoir nus;

---

[21] *(com)ment auroit:* Ars. f. 2765 abbreviates: *comm(en)t auroit;* this is unusual, as this Arsenal copy writes out words in full, resolving such abbreviations as occur in the original. It explains: *quel qu'il soit.*

[22] *asseür:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *en seureté.*

[28] *papeillons:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *papillon.*

[30] *repus:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *caché.*

[36] Ars. f. 2765 remarks: *consiz, proverbe.*

[37] *m(ou)lt:* this word occurs only in an abbreviated form, and hence there is some uncertainty as to the spelling. It is found: 37, 38, 49 and 62.

repus: Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *caché.*

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39 Lor fiance resamble la meson Dedal[ie];
40 Qua(n)t l'en est enz entrez, si n'en set

XI.

fo 202*a*: n)t vrais (et) tant
41 [N']est plus droiz ne reson q(ue) des
42 Sages sont (et) senees, plaines de cort**est douz q(ue)**
43 (Et) quoi c'om die d'eles, fols est qui ne s
44 Tant (com) paistres ou leu, qui sa beste a meng

XII.

45 Seur toute rie(n) doit on p(ar) tout fame honorer;
46 Fermes s(on)t (et) estables, (et) bien seuent celer;
47 De chose c'om leur die ne se couient douter,
48 Nient plus q(ue) s'on estoit en .i. panier en mer.

XIII.

49 Compaignie de fame est m(ou)lt sainte (et) honeste;
50 Nus n'i porroit souffrir mesaise ne moleste;
51 Si seür fet entre eles mener (et) geu (et) feste,
52 (Com)me sanz gouuernail en mer p(ar) gra(n)t tempeste.

XIV.

53 C'est m(er)ueille de fame, (c'on)ques tele ne fu;
54 De bien fere (et) de dire a toz iors l'arc tendu;
55 Diseteus de conseil sont p(ar) els secoru,
56 Autant (com)me oiselet quant s(on)t pris a le glu.

---

[39] *la meson Dedalus:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *labirinthe.*

[41] [*n*']*est:* the manuscript reads a *D* in place of an initial *N;* but this letter is merely scratched in by a later hand. Ars. f. 2765 corrects by *N.*

[43] *senees:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *sensées.*

[46] *estables:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *stables.*

[48] *nient plus:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *non plus.*

[54] *l'arc tendu:* Ars. f. 2765 corrects *art* to *arc*, and remarks: *au figure.*

[55] *diseteus:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *indigens.*

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XV.

Couuens de Cantimpre, je di bien et tesmoingne,
Pesiblement viuez, n'est mest(er) (c'om) v(us) poingne;
Mestre Ysabiaus i est; quanq(ue)s puet du nez stroi(n)gne;
Dont n'i a si hardie, q(u)i forment nel resoingne.

XVI.

Ces vers Jehans Durpain, vns moines de Vauceles,
A fet m(ou)lt soutilment; les rimes en sont beles;
Priez por lui, beguines, vielles (et) iouuenceles,
Q(ue) par vous sera s'ame portee en .ii. fisseles.

Explicit l'Euangille aus Fames.

---

[57] *Couuens:* M. Jubinal, *Jongl.*, p. 32, incorrectly reads: *Convers*, as noticed by M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 61. The latter editor has the further note:

"L'abbaye de Cantimpré ou Cantipré, de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin, fut fondée en 1180, sous le vocable de Notre-Dame, à 4 ou 5 lieues de Cambrai."

M. Jubinal, *Jongl.*, p. 32, note, had restricted himself to the mere remark: "Abbaye célèbre."

Ars. f. 2765 remarks: *Cantimpre* (*Religieuses*).

[58] *mest(er)*: perhaps in this case the sign of abbreviation should be resolved as: (*ier*).

[59] *mestre Ysabiaus:* Ars. f. 2765 notes: *Isabiaus* (*Mtre*).

stroi(n)gne: Ars. f. 2765 reads: *froingne*, and glosses: *fronce.*

[60] *resoingne:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *craingne;* similarly M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 61.

[61] *Jehans Durpain:* Ars. f. 2765 notes: *Jean Durpain, Moinz de Vauceles.* M. Jubinal, *Jongl.*, p. 32, noted:

"C'est le seul fabliau qu'on ait de cet auteur."

Vauceles: M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 63, has the following note:

"Vaucelles, célèbre abbaye de l'ordre de Cîteaux, à 8 kilomètres de Cambrai, fondée par saint Bernard en 1132."

[63] *beguines:* Ars. f. 2765 remarks: *religieuses.*

[64] *fisseles:* Ars. f. 2765 glosses: *yspaniles.*

M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 63, remarks:

"Il n'est pas besoin de faire ressortir la bouffonnerie de l'expression, appliquée à l'âme de Jehan Durpain."

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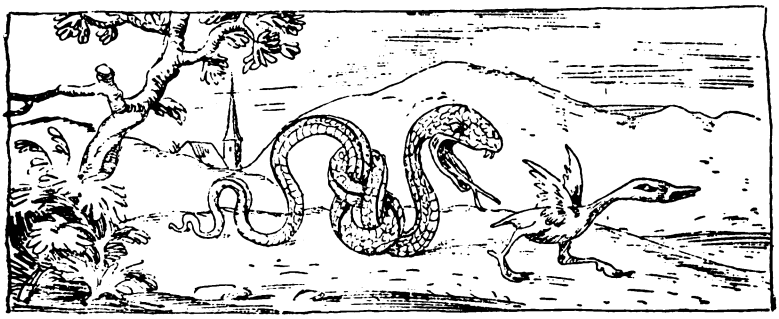

VERSION C.

B. N. f. 1593, fo 99*a*—100*c*.

(Title wanting.)

I.

1 [L']ewangille des fe(m)mes vous weil cy recorder,
2 Moult g(r)ant prouffit y a q(u)i le veult escout(er);
3 Cent jours dehors p(ar)don y po(u)rroit conquester;
4 Marie de Co(m)piegne le conq(u)ist oultremer.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE A.—In the *editio princeps* of our poem, M. Jubinal followed in the main this version; cf. the present editor's article in: *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. X (1895), cols. 19–21: *Jubinal's "Évangile aux Femmes."*

NOTE B.—For the manner in which this version is written in the manuscript, cf. the notes to Version B.

HEADING.—The manuscript contains no heading; this is due no doubt to the fact that the rubricator has not filled in any of his work, the initials being regularly omitted, with the usual indication on the margin by means of a small letter.

[1] Ars. f. 2768 notes: *Evangile des femmes par Jean du Pin, moinz de Vaucelles.*

[2] *q(u)i:* this form of abbreviation has a more extended use here than in Versions A and B already examined. The extension of usage referred to is the placing of an *a*, in addition to the *i* commonly placed, over a *q* (and in one case even over a *g*) as an indication that *u* is to be supplied: *q(u)ant* 36, 44, 51, 54, 67, 88, 96; *q(u)a(n)t* 27, 12 *q(u')aut(r)etant* 22; *g(u)arder* 71.

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II.

5 [L']ewangille des fe(m)mes si est et bonne (et) digne,
6 *.b.* Si (com)e le raconte Marie de Co(m)pigne;

---

[3] *po(u)rroit:* Ars. f. 2768 reads *porroit*, misunderstanding the abbreviation, no doubt.

conquester: Ars. f. 2768 comments: *si vont outre, absolument pardons gagner.*

[4] Ars. f. 2768 notes: *Marie de Compiegne;* also: *Indulgents.* It is this and the following quatrain which gave rise to so much discussion about the identity, or non-identity, of *Marie de France* and *Marie de Compiègne.*

[6] This verse seems to have been unintentionally omitted by the scribe; it was added at the bottom of the column. There is some room for doubt as to the exact place in which the verse was intended to be inserted by the corrector; the verse at the bottom of the column is preceded by a *.b.*, and above there is a *b* on the margin opposite the end of the second verse, as if this added verse was to form the third of the quatrain. But why this system of reference by means of two *b*'s, when there was no *a*? Hence it follows that this *b* on the margin must have been added by a later hand than the one that inserted the missing verse, and by some one who misunderstood the meaning of (or who did not notice) the small letter *a* placed in the body of the text at the end of the first verse. (It is to be remembered in this connection that the present version is written continuously in the manuscript.) Furthermore, as this verse occurs in only two other versions (D and G), and as in both of these it is regularly placed after the first, we may feel sure that that is its correct position. M. Jubinal, *Jongl.*, p. 26, however, apparently misunderstanding both of these indications, placed the verse in question after the other three without remark; and M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 66, consciously placed it at the end, remarking:

"Le ms D. change la place du quatrième vers, de cette manière" . . .

Having made the first mistake, the second one followed very naturally, as the only other version (G) containing the quatrain in question was at that time unknown to him. Ars. f. 2768 has copied this particular verse in the same order as chance had made it assume at the bottom of the column in the original manuscript, that is, after the first verse of the fourth quatrain, and the incongruity thereby arising was apparently never noticed by M. de Sainte-Palaye (or whoever it was that made the marginal notes).

(com)e: this abbreviation occurs: *(com)e* 6, 22; *(com)me* 55; *(com)-e(n)t* 55. The very same words, however, occur more frequently with other abbreviations, or with none at all.

[8] M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 66, prints: *com*, following in this, as in so

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7 Fe(m)me ne pense mal, ne no(n)ne, ne beguine,
8 Ne q(ue) fait le renart, q(u)i happe la geline.

III.

9 [Q]uiconq(ue) veult men(er) et pure (et) sainte vie,
10 Fe(m)mes aimt et les croie, et du tout s'y affie,
11 Et soit aussi seür, com ce q(u)i es[t] n'est mie,
12 Q(ue) par elles sera s'ame saintifiee.

---

many cases, the false reading of M. Jubinal. The same remark is true for M. Constans' reading of *Compiegne* further on in the verse. The difference in spelling between the word in the added verse and in the body of the text, verse 4, brings up an interesting question as to the identity of this corrector: Was he the original scribe himself (who spells the word above with an *e*); or was he from a different province and hence naturally spelt the word thus; or, finally, was the *e* omitted by accident? In any case, the rhyme is destroyed if the *e* is unnecessarily inserted, as is done by M. Jubinal and M. Constans. D 6 and G 6 show similar irregularities in the treatment of this word, so that we may confidently assert that this quatrain at least was composed in a dialect differing from that of all three scribes. For the variation in spelling compare the following chart:

Zfrp XIV (1890), pp. 298–343: Ch. Bonnier, *Étude Critique des Chartes de Douai de* 1203–1275 (*III^e Partie*); p. 332:

XCV.

(Au dos est écrit:) Cest Couenence Gilebiert Belin bourgois d arras.

Sacent tout cil ki sunt *et* ki auenir sunt ke Amans li Counestables borgois de Douay doit *et* a encouuent a Gilebiert Belin bourgois d arras cent l*ivres* et viii*i sous et* iiii deniers de par*esis* de boine dete *et* de loial a rendre *et* a paier a celui Gilebiert *et* a sen commant a Compigne dedens le feste de Compiegne ki iert a le Miq*ua*resme . . . en lan del Incarnation notre sign*eur* mil cc lxviiii el mois de Juing.

Ars. f. 2768 reads: *compiegne.*

[7] *ne no(n)ne, ne beguine:* Ars. f. 2768 comments: *religieuses.*

[8] *ne q(ue)*: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *non plus que.*

happe la geline: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *saisit la poulle.*

[10] Ars. f. 2768 reads: "femmes aime et les rire et du tout s'y affie." It adds the marginal note, as frequently, *consiz.*

[11] *es[t]*: the final *t* appears to have been omitted, but whether this was intentional or not is a difficult question to decide. Were this a solitary case, we should of course be justified in immediately saying that it had been omitted by a mere oversight; but when we compare this case with similar phenomena elsewhere in our manuscripts, a doubt arises as to

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IV.

13 [O]nq(ue)s cil b(ie)ns n'ama, q(u)i les fe(m)mes n'ot ch(ie)r;

fo 99*b*:

14 Leurs v(er)t(us) (et) leurs g(r)aces font a esm(er)ueil-l(ie)r;

15 Car on les peut aussi rep(re)ndre (et) chastiër,

16 C'om po(u)rroit la mer d'u(n) pe(n)nier espuisier.

---

whether it was not consciously done perhaps, because of the final *t* having become silent by this time, and because of the analogy of the second person.

The last two verses of this quatrain have evidently been inverted from their true position in this version, and the first of the two somewhat changed in order to preserve a proper grammatical construction. It seems probable that this change was intentionally made by some one who did not wholly understand the general plan upon which the poem was originally constructed, and who thought thus to improve upon his model. Perhaps he was led into this error by the form of the participle in a single *e* (with stress upon the preceding *i*), a dialectical form foreign to his speech-consciousness. Observing that the addition of a second *e*, as was required by his speech-usage, produced a hypermetric verse, he thought to remedy the matter by the inversion and slight change which he has made in the text.

Taking the various versions of our poem as a whole, we find many variations which we may ascribe to the same or a similar cause. Such phenomena throw an interesting light upon the speech-conditions in France during the Middle Ages; and it is just such things as these that form, in the opinion of the present editor, the chief matters of interest in connection with our peculiar poem.

[13] *ch(ie)r:* this form of abbreviation occurs only here and in *ch(ie)res* 73; in the latter case Ars. f. 2768 has resolved *cheres*, but this would hardly seem warranted. In 13 Ars. f. 2768 exceptionally abbreviates as *ch(ie)r*.

[15] *car:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, reads unnecessarily: *Quar.*

[16] *c'om:* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 33, gives the reading of this manuscript as: *Que l'en*, which, however, does not seem to be warranted by the facts of the case, although it would successfully reëstablish the metre.

pe(n)nier: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *premier*, with the remark: *du primier coups;* but it also gives the alternate reading: *ou faute d'un pennier.* Compare the other versions for the variants to this word, which seems to have given the majority of the scribes trouble in one way or another.

espuisier: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *epuiser.*

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V.

17 [L]eur conseil est tant doulz, et tant voir, (et) tant preux,
18 Q(ue) q(u)i b(ie)n s'i entent, pl(us) li est doulz que mielz;
19 Meres sont p(ar) pitie; genz giettent de p(er)ieux;
20 Ainsi co(m) ie di voir, le(u)r aïst Damedieux!

VI.

21 [L]eur conseil est co(u)rtois, et tant voir (et) tant fin,
22 Q(u')aut(r)etant font a croire, (com)e s(ont) Iacopin;

---

[17]Ars. f. 2768 notes, as frequently, *parlant des femmes.*

preux: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *preuve.*

[19]*p(er)ieux:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *prieuve*, and the annotator has added: *perils.* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 31, has the following note:

"C: *gens giettent de pieux*, par confusion du copiste avec le premier vers."

[21]Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *parlant des femmes.*

[22]Ars. f. 2768 has reduced this verse to only ten syllables by reading as follows:

qu'autant font a croire com est Jacopin.

This shortening has passed unnoticed by the annotator.

q(u')aut(r)etant: M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 67, incorrectly reads: *Que autant*, following Jubinal, *l. c.*

Iacopin: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *St. Jacques.*

M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 67, has the following note on this word:

"Il semble que ce couplet soit bien l'œuvre d'un moine malicieux et jaloux. Jehan Durpain, à qui appartient, comme nous verrons plus loin, une des rédactions de l'Évangile aux femmes, était de l'ordre de Cîteaux, et moine de l'abbaye de Vaucelles, fondée par saint Bernard. Il est probable que son ordre vivait alors en mauvaise intelligence avec les disciples de saint Dominique."

In this connection I would note, however, that this quatrain occurs in Version C alone, whilst Jehan Durpain is mentioned in B 61, C 125, H 50, and a similar name is found in J 85. Hence the attribution of this quatrain by M. Constans to Jehan Durpain, while not altogether impossible, becomes at least improbable. It will be better to consider this quatrain as a special local hit of the scribe of C, or of his immediate source.

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23 Conseilliez vo(us) a fe(m)me au soir (et) au matin,
24 Si s(er)ez tous c(er)tains de faire male fin.

VII.

25 [F]e(m)me conuoite auoir plus q(ue) miel ne fait ourse;
26 Tant vo(us) amera fe(m)me, com arez rien en bourse;
27 Et q(u)a(n)t elle saura q(u'e)lle s(er)a escousse,
28 Aussi la pouez p(re)ndre, com vn lieure a la course.

VIII.

29 [C]e q(ue) fe(m)me a en lui, a poine le scet nulz,
30 Car c'est vns biens emblez, q(u')a poines est sceüz;
31 Com li or ent(er)rez, ou soubz la cendre fus;
32 Qui plus s'i asseüre, c'est li plus tost perduz.

IX.

33 [S]e vns homs a a fe(m)me p(ar)leme(n)t ou raison,
34 L'en ne doit ja cuider, qu'il y ait se bien non;
fo 99*c*:
35 De quanq(ue)s elles dient, b(ie)n croire les doit on,
36 Tout aussi com le chat, q(u)ant il monte ou bacon.

X.

37 [S]e vous veëz a fe(m)me mener joieuse feste,
38 Soiez aussi seür contre toute tempeste,
39 Com vn q(u)i couchiez iert par desso(us) lez la beste,
40 Qui point deu(er)s la q(ue)ue, et blandist co(m)me beste.

---

[24] *male fin:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *mauvaise fin.*

It will be noted that this quatrain, like so many others in certain of our versions, is not constructed in accordance with the original plan of the poem.

[25] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *proverbe.*

[31] *fus:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *bois.*

[32] *s'i:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, incorrectly reads: *s'y.*

[33] *raison:* Ars. f. 2768 comments: *de pourparler, de pour s'intéresser.*

[36] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *un proverbe.*

bacon: M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, glosses: *lard.*

[40] *deu(er)s la q(ue)ue:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *vers la queuz.*

co(m)me beste: this is a difficult verse to interpret; see the note on verse 13. Ars. f. 2768 reads: *teste;* on this question of *teste*, or *beste*, cf. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 57.

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XI.

41 [F]e(m)me fait volent(er)s, ce semble, son pouoir,
42 Afin qu'on ne la puisse par engin deceuoir;
43 Si a enuis fait chose, ou il ait g(r)ant sauoir,
44 Com renart p(re)nt geline, q(u)ant il la veult auoir.

XII.

45 [F]e(m)me si se fait humble, sage, de beau parler,
46 Po(u)r couu(er)tement dire: " Doulz amis, tost reuien!"
47 Mais q(ui)conq(ue) y treuue discrec(i)on, ne bien,
48 Sache certainem(en)t ce n'est mie du sien.

XIII.

49 [S]auoir talent de fe(m)me, et (com)me(n)t se scet feindre,
50 Ce ne puet bouche dire, cuer penser, ne atteindre;
51 Q(u)ant el scet vne chose, si la puet on esteindre,
52 Aussi com on po(u)rroit vn vert drap en blanc teindre.

XIV.

53 [M]oult se puet ame amer, (et) estre seüre (et) lie,
54 Q(u)ant fe(m)me l'a en cure, et elle la chastie;

---

41 *volent(er)s:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, resolves: *volentiers*, but this does not seem warranted by the use of the sign in the present version.

43 *enuis:* Ars. f. 2768 comments: *mot corrompu.*

44 Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *proverbe.*

45 *sage:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *sçavanz, habile, capable.*

parler: this is a striking example of disregard of rhyme by the scribe of this version; in fact the whole quatrain is poorly invented.

46 *couu(er)tement:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, glosses: *Doucement, tout bas.*

49 *talent:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, glosses: *Désir.*

50 *cuer penser:* Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *la coeur dirige la pensée.*

51 *esteindre:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *Etouffer;* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 46, glosses: *étouffer, cacher.*

53 *ame:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *quelqu'un.* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 34, explains the word thus:

"*Ame* est sans doute pris au sens de *quelqu'un, on* (*une âme quelconque*)."

seure: it is evidently necessary to consider this as a dissyllabic word in this instance in order to avoid a hypermetric verse. The rhythm is then quite good.

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fo 99*d*;

55 Humble est co(m)me brebis, (com)me lyon hardie;
56 [B]ien puet estre appellee: "J'ay a nom *Folsyfie.*"

XV.

57 Homs que fe(m)me a en cuer, co(m)ment aroit mesaise;
58 C'est vne medecine, q(u)i touz les malx apaise;
59 On y puet aussi estre asseür (et) [a] aise,
60 Co(m)me plain poing d'estoupes en vne ardant fo(u)rnaise.

XVI.

61 [Q]uoy qu'on die des fe(m)mes, c'est vne g(r)ant m(er)ueille;
62 De bien faire, (et) de dire chascune s'appareille;
63 Et aussi sagem(en)t se po(u)ruoit (et) conseille,
64 Co(m)me li papeillons, qui s'art a la chandelle.

---

[56] [*b*]*ien:* the small *b* has been placed in the margin in the regular way, but a later hand has inserted a capital *B* in the space left vacant for the rubricator; this space was left at this place erroneously, and correspondingly omitted one line below where it should have been left.

nom: Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *façon de parler.*

[57] *fe(m)me:* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 35, reads: *fame*, remarking: "Jubinal corrige à tort, peut-être par erreur de lecture: *Hom qui fame a en cuer* (qui aime une femme)."

cuer: Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *façon de parler.*

[58] *malx:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *mal, malaise.*

[59] *asseür:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *a seure.*

[*a*] *aise:* the manuscript has only one *a* here, but it is evidently necessary to insert the preposition to complete the sense, as well as to fill out the metre. Ars. f. 2768 reads merely: *aise.*

[60] *plain poing:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *poignée.*

estoupes: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *chanvre.*

fo(u)rnaise: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *fornaise.*

[64] *papeillons:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *papillon.*

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XVII.

65 [D]ouce chose est de fe(m)me, et en diz (et) en fais;
66 Ne sont pas rioteusce, n'ont mie trop de plais;
67 Q(u)ant sont bien esmeües, on les metroit en paix,
68 Aussi tost com li singes feroit po(u)r les mauuais.

XVIII.

69 [I]l a m(ou)lt biens en fe(m)me, d'onne(u)r (et) d'onneste;
70 Sages sont et honnestes, et pleines de bo(n)te;
71 On puet tout aussi b(ie)n g(u)arder leur amitie,
72 Com on po(u)rroit garder vn glaçon en este.

XIX.

73 [I']ay m(ou)lt ch(ie)res les fe(m)mes po(u)r les biens q(ue) g'y voy;
74 Elles ont po(u)r moy fait tant q(ue) louer m'en doy;

---

[65] *[d]ouce:* the small *d* is placed in the margin for the guidance of the rubricator, but some more modern hand has written a capital *D* in the space left vacant. Cf. the note on verse 56.

[66] *rioteusce:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, reads: *rioteuses*, and glosses: *Querelleuses.* Ars. f. 2768 does the same in both particulars, and it is very likely that M. Jubinal was here following this Arsenal copy.

[67] *metroit:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, and Ars. f. 2768 correctly read thus; but M. Constans. *M. de C.*, p. 69, has changed the form to *mettrait.*

[68] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *proverbe.*

[69] *[i]l a:* the scribe of Ars. f. 2768 probably failed to notice the small *i* placed in the margin, and therefore innocently wrote *j'a*, taking the long stroke representing the *l* for a small *j*, which is made in much the same way in this manuscript. M. Jubinal was evidently troubled by the same passage, but was enabled to evolve a different reading by taking the *l* for a long *s*; he therefore reads *S'a*, in which he is followed by M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 56, who adds: "lisez *si a.*"

m(ou)lt: this form of abbreviation occurs: 69, 73, 101; the resolution is assured by *moult* 2, 53, 85, 121, 122.

M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, incorrectly resolves the abbreviation as *mult*, and in this he is followed by M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 56. Ars. f. 2768 has correctly resolved in this instance as: *moult.*

[72] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *proverbe.*

po(u)rroit: Ars. f. 2768, and M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, both read: *porroit*, having no doubt failed to understand the abbreviation.

glaçon: the manuscript has no cedilla.

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75 De tout q(uë) elx me dient, tout aussi bien les croy,
fo 100*a*:
76 Com cellui q(u)i cent foiz m'auroit menti sa foy.

XX.

77 [Q]ui conseil veult auoir et seür (et) c(er)tain,
78 A fe(m)me le voit q(ue)rre, ne l'aura pas en vain;
79 Leur conseil est tant doulz, (et) au soir, (et) au main,
80 Q(ue) ja homs n'iert ho(n)niz, se fe(m)me n'y met main.

XXI.

81 [Q]ui a fiance en fe(m)me, ce n'est mie m(er)ueille;
82 Car en b(ie)n faire (et) dire chascune s'app(ar)eille;

---

[75] Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *De tout: tout ce qu'elles.*

q(uë) elx me dient: M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, reads: *hom médient;* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *qu'elx me dient;* and M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 69, reads: *qu'elles me dient.* The reading of Ars. f. 2768 is one syllable short of the proper number; all the others scan properly, and the variants noted are not difficult of explanation palaeographically. M. Constans' note is as follows:

"M. Jubinal lit à tort: *De tout que hom médient*, ce qui torture le sens et fait violence au manuscrit."

[78] *voit:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *aille.* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 70, rejects this reading in favor of *doit.*

l'aura: understand: *conseil.*

[80] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *façon de parler.*

homs: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *hons.*

ho(n)niz: so M. Jubinal, *l. c.*; M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 70, has, however, the following surprising note:

"Ce vers a été mutilé par M. Jubinal, qui lit, en bravant le sens et la mesure:

Ja homs n'iert hormiz se femme n'y met la main.

Le ms porte bien le texte que nous imprimons; il faut retrancher *la* pour la mesure. D'ailleurs D nous fournit cette correction."

met main: the manuscript reads: *met la main*, but this produces a hypermetric verse; M. Constans is right in his correction of this point (see the preceding note). Ars. f. 2768 and M. Jubinal both give the hypermetric verse without remark.

[81] *fiance:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *fiances.*

[82] *chascune:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *chacune.*

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83 Et aussi coye se taist de ce qu'on lui conseille,
84 Com cil q(u)i va c(r)iant le ven (et) la corbeille.

XXII.

85 [M]oult a de bien en fe(m)me, mais il est si repus,
86 Qu'a poine p(er)ceuoir le po(u)rroit ho(m)me nulz;
87 Leur fiance resemble la maison Dedalus;
88 Q(u)ant on y est entre, ne s'en puet issir nulz.

XXIII.

89 [S]ur toute riens est fe(m)me de muable talent;
90 Par nature veult faire tout q(u)anq(u')on leur defent;
91 Vn pense, autre dit; or veult, or s'en repent;
92 En son propos se tient, com le cochet au vent.

XXIV.

93 [N']est pas droit, ne raison, q(ue) des fe(m)me mesdie;
94 Sages sont (et) senees, pleines de co(u)rtoisie,

---

[83] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *consis.*

aussi: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *aussy.*

[84] *ven:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *vent*, and glosses: *van, à vanner.*

corbeille: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *crible.*

[85] *repus:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *caché.*

[86] *p(er)ceuoir:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *apercevoir.*

ho(m)me: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *home.*

[87] Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *proverbe.*

[89] M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 41, note, remarks (under A XI):

"N. B.—Ce couplet est indiqué par M. Jubinal comme spécial au ms C, qui le contient en effet (v. C. XXIII). Mais il est aussi dans A. Quoique M. Jubinal signale l'existence du ms A, et en cite deux couplets en note, il ne paraît pas l'avoir sérieusement étudié. Car il commet la même erreur pour les couplets 8, 26, 13, 18, 10 et 21 du ms C, qui correspondent aux couplets 8, 13, 16, 29, 30 et 31 du ms A, et par conséquent ne sont pas spéciaux à C, comme il le prétend. Je ne parle pas des couplets 9 et 11 de D, qui correspondent aux couplets 18 et 21 de C, puisque M. Jubinal ne connaissait pas le ms de Dijon."

For a full treatment of this matter see an article by the present editor, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. X (1895), cols. 19–21: *Jubinal's "Évangile aux Femmes."*

[91] *senees:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *sensées.*

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fo 100*b*:

Et quoy qu'on die d'elles, folz est qui ne s'y fie,
Tant com pasteur en leu, q(u)ant sa beste est mengiee.

XXV.

[L']en doit plus q(ue) riens fe(m)me s(er)uir (et) ho(n)norer;
Discretes sont, f(er)mes, (et) sages en p(ar)ler;
De rien q(uë) on leur die ne se doit nul doubter;
Nea(n)t plus qu'on s'estoit en vn pennier en mer.

XXVI.

[I]e voy trois b(ie)ns en fe(m)me, q(u)i m(ou)lt sont a louer;
Simples sont (et) senees; il n'y a que blamer;
Tant fait bon (et) seür entre elles conu(er)ser,
Com vn ho(m)me tout nu en feu ardant aler.

XXVII.

[F]e(m)me est la gentil chose q(ue) Dieu fist a s'ymage;
Les yeux vers (et) rians, et de gentil corssage;

---

[97] *ho(n)norer:* Ars. f. 2768 spells: *honorer.*

[98] *f(er)mes:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *femes*, seemingly misunderstanding the sign of abbreviation.

[100] *s'estoit:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *seoit*, and glosses: *sedoit, ou soit.*

pennier: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *pannier.*

[101] *voy:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *vois.*

m(ou)lt sont a louer: M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, reads: *font bien à louer.* This reading must be due to an emendation by him, as such a reading is not found in either of the three manuscripts that were known to him, nor in the Arsenal copies, which were also known to him, as it would seem.

[102] *blamer:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *blasmer.*

[103] *conu(er)ser:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *vivre, habiter, commercer.*

[106] *les:* Ars. f. 2768, and M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, read: *Ses.*

vers: Ars. f. 2768 comments: *le même que proy.*

M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 71, has the following note on this verse:

"M. Jubinal imprime, contre la leçon du ms: *Ses beaux yeux vers et rians, et de gentil corsage.*"

Both M. Jubinal and M. Constans, however, print: *corsage;* whereas the manuscript has *corssage*, as Ars. f. 2768 correctly reproduces.

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107 Les me(m)bres bien fo(u)rmez, et aussi le visage;
108 (Clean blank in the manuscript.)

XXVIII.

109 (Clean blank in the manuscript.)
110 Req(ue)rre sa m(er)ci, et souuent la prier;
111 De corps (et) de chate du tout s'y affier;
112 Car elle scet touz malx faire, et biens oublier.

fo 100*c*: XXIX.

113 [Q]ui bien auise en fe(m)mes, et ses fais (et) ses diz,
114 Com elle scet aidier a trestouz ses amis,
115 Ne s(er)a ja tant folz, q(uë) il n'ait tost apris,
116 Q(ue) q(u)iconq(ue) croit fe(m)me deuient poure (et) chetiz.

---

107 *les:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *ses.*

fo(u)rmez: Ars. f. 2768 reads: *formes;* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, and M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 71, read: *formés.*

108 There is at this point a clean blank in the manuscript, corresponding to two entire verses of the poem. M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, notes:

"ce vers manque dans le manuscrit."

Ars. f. 2768 leaves a blank space as in the original.

M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 71, remarks:

"Le 4e vers manque dans le ms."

The question immediately arises: Why this omission and blank space?

Probably the best answer to give is that the version from which our scribe was copying this manuscript was hard to read at this point, and so he left sufficient space for the proper entry to be made later, either by himself or by another better informed. This curious phenomenon is of considerable interest in the question of the relation of the various versions of our poem to one another.

109 The same note applies here as was given on the preceding verse.

110 Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *parlant des fammes.*

111 *chate:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *bien fortune.*

affier: Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *fier.*

115 M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 71, prints:

"Ne sera ja tant folz qu'il n'ait [bien] tost apris."

To this he remarks:

"Il faut ajouter *bien* pour la mesure du vers."

Ars. f. 2768 has written the verse correctly (*i. e.* without *bien*).

116 *chetiz:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *chétif.*

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XXX.

[Q]ui le sien met en fe(m)me, bon loyer en aura;
De bras l'acolera, de bouche lui rira;
Courtoisement (et) bel, touz ses bons li dira;
Iusqu'a tant l'ait plume, ainsi le ho(n)nira.

XXXI.

[M]oult fait fe(m)me a amer, son senz (et) sa mesure;
Moult est bonne a garder s'amour tant com el dure;
Fe(m)me q(u)a(n)t el fait b(ie)n, cë ést et raison (et) droiture,
Et s'elle est pute (et) fole, ce n'est que sa nature.

XXXII.

[C]es vers Jehan du Pain, vn moyne de Vaucelles,
A fait soutilleme(n)t; les rimes en sont belles;
Fe(m)mes, priez po(u)r lui, dames (et) damoiselles;
Q(ue) par vous sera s'ame mise entre deux foisselles.

Explicit l'Eu(u)a(n)gile des Fe(m)mes.

---

[119] *bons:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *ce qui plaist.*

[123] *raison:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, prints: *reson.*

The scribe has managed to make a verse of no less than fourteen syllables. It is not my purpose to attempt to correct such glaring blunders as these, yet I am at a loss as to how to satisfactorily account for them. M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 62, prints: *ce est reson et droiture*, remarking:

"*Ce est* au lieu de *c'est*, fait le vers faux."

But the manuscript has even another word (*et*), which he has not noticed. M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, prints: *c'est reson et droiture.* Ars. f. 2768 has: *Femme quant cele fait bien ce est et raison et droiture*, which raises the number of syllables to fifteen.

[124] *pute:* Ars. f. 2768 glosses: *mauvaise.*

[125] *Jehan:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: Jean.

[126] *soutilleme(n)t:* Ars. f. 2768 reads: *Soubtilement.*

[127] *damoisel'les:* Ars. f. 2768 remarks: *femes.* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 63, spells: *demoiselles.*

[128] *sera:* M. Jubinal, *l. c.*, prints: *soit.*

s'ame: this word evidently cannot be here taken as *fame*, because this version regularly spells the word for woman: *fe(m)me.*

foisselles: Ars. f. 2768 spells: *foiselles.*

EXPLICIT: Ars. f. 2768 spells: *l'evangile.* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 72, prints: *l'Euvangile aux femmes.*

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VERSION D.

Dijon, bibl. mun. 298 *bis*, fo 113vo—fo 114ro.

L'Evangile des Femes.

I.

1 L'eva(n)gile des femes vo(u)s weil ci raconter;
2 M(ou)lt g(r)ant proufit en vient, q(u)i le veult escout(er);
3 Cent iours de vray p(ar)do(n) y puet l'e(n) co(n)quester;
4 Marie de Co(m)piei(n)gne le conquist oultremer.

II.

5 La maniere des femes si est m(ou)lt sainte et digne,
6 Selonc [ce] q(ue) raconte Marie de Compigne;
7 Feme ne pense mal, ne nonnain, ne beguine;
8 Ne q(ue) fait le renart q(u)ant hape la geline.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

HEADING.—The heading is in red ink.

[3] *m(ou)lt:* this abbreviation occurs regularly throughout the whole version, so that we are unable to determine definitely whether to resolve as: *m(ou)lt*, *m(u)lt*, or *m(o)lt*. It occurs: 2, 5, 14, 33, 45; M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 65, prints: *mult*, without remark.

[3] *p(ar)do(n)*: neither the syllable *par* nor the syllable *per* occurs written out in full in this version; hence we are left in uncertainty as to which spelling to choose. The abbreviation occurs: *p(ar)do(n)* 3; *p(ar)* 12; *ap(er)cevoir* 46.

[4] *co(m)piei(n)gne:* the fullness of the orthography in this instance is quite striking, as in verse 6 below the name is spelt simply: *compigne*.

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III.

9 Qui voulra b(ie)n men(er) [et] pure (et) nete vie,
10 Si ame fame (et) croie, (et) du tout s'i affie;
11 (Et) soit aussi certains, (com) ce qui est n'est mie;
12 P(ar) elle sera s'ame devant Dieu beneïe.

IV.

fo 114ro:
13 Onq(ue)s cilz b(ie)n n'ama, q(u)i les femes n'ot chier;
14 Leur v(er)tu (et) leur grace si font m(ou)lt a prisier;
15 Car on les puet aussi reprendre (et) chastier,
16 (Com) on porroit la mer a .i. crible espuisier.

V.

17 Homs q(u)i se fie en feme, (com)me(n)t auroit mesaise;
18 C'est une medecine, qui touz les maux apaise;
19 L'en en puet aussi b(ie)n estre a sehur et aise,
20 (Com) plain poing d'estoupe en une arda(n)t fornaise.

VI.

21 Qui diroit mal de feme, ce s(e)roit g(r)ant m(er)veille;
22 Car de loiaute faire chascune s'apareille;
23 (Et) aussi sagement se pourvoit (et) conseille,
24 (Com)me li papeillons qui s'art a la cha(n)delle.

VII.

25 N'est pas drois, ne raison, q(ue) de feme mesdie;
26 Sages sont (et) aprises, (et) de g(r)ant courtoisie;
27 Car en q(u)ant qu'elles die(n)t, fols est qui ne s'i fie,
28 (Com) le bergier ou leu, q(u)ant la beste a saisie.

VIII.

29 G(r)ant merveille est de feme, onques tele ne fu;
30 De touz b(ie)ns entreprendre a touz iours l'air te(n)du;
31 Pour sa science sont maint home secouru,
32 Autressi (com) l'oisel qui est prins a la glu.

---

[21] *s(e)roit*: or perhaps we should read *s(er)roit*, as this is the usual value of this sign used in conjunction with a long *s*. Cf. *s(er)pent* 40.

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IX.

M(ou)lt a de b(ie)n en feme, de proufit, d'onestie;
Sages sont (et) secrees, (et) plaines de bontie;
Car on puet aussi b(ie)n gardier leur amitie,
Com on porroit gardier .i. glaçon en estie.

X.

Il so(n)t aucune ge(n)s, qui s'en plaignent si fort;
Mais il me semble b(ie)n qu'il ont de ce g(r)ant tort;
Car l'en treuve auta(n)t de b(ie)n (et) de confort,
Com on fait ou s(er)pent qui en traïso(n) mort.

XI.

Se l'en se fie en feme, ce n'est une merveille;
Q(u)ant est de loiaute, n'est il chose pareille;
(Et) si cele aussi b(ie)n ce que l'en li conseille,
Com cilz qui va criant le van (et) la courbeille.

XII.

M(ou)lt a de b(ie)n en feme, mais il est trop reclus;
Trouv(er) n'ap(er)cevoir ne le porroit ia nuls;
Leur science ressemble la maison Dedalus;
Q(u)ant l'en y est entrez, l'en ne puet trouv(er) l'us.

XIII.

Douce chose est que feme (et) en diz (et) en faiz;
Ne sont pas rioteuses, ne vont mie trop plaiz;
Q(u)ant so(n)t b(ie)n esmeües, si doucement font paiz,
Aussi co(m)me le cinge foroit pour les mauvaiz.

XIV.

Qui co(n)seil veult avoir (et) sehur (et) certain,
A femme le voit querre, si n'ira pas en vain;
Leur co(n)seil est si bon, (et) au soir (et) au main,
Que ia homs n'iert honniz, se feme n'i met main.

.Deo gracias.

---

[36] *glaçon :* there is no cedilla in the manuscript.

[46] *ia :* M. Constans, *M. de C.*, p. 40, prints : *jor*.

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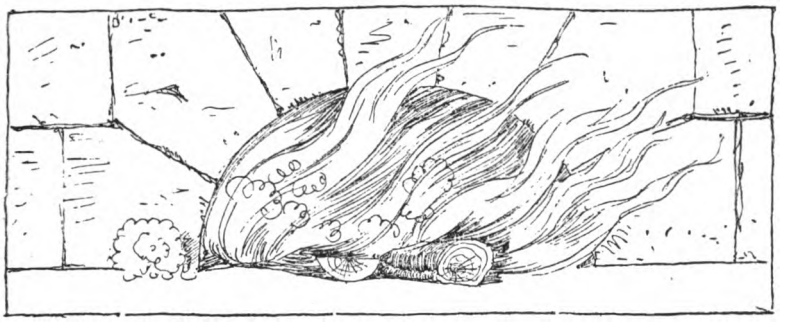

VERSION E.

Épinal, bibl. mun. 189, fo 37ro—fo 37vo.

. . . . . .

I.

1 Moult puet est(re) ho(m)me ioeuz (et) fai(r)e chie(re) lie,
2 Q(u)ant fe(m)e l'ait a cure, (et) ver lui s'umelie;
3 Hu(m)ble (com) berbix, et con lion herdie;
4 Bien doit estre lvy ho(m)me appelle : "*Folsifie.*"

II.

5 Home que feme ait en cur, com(en)t auroit mesaixe;
6 C'est vne medessine, que de tout malz repaice;
7 Ons y puet anci estre aseür (et) ai aixe,
8 (Com) plain poins d'estoupe en vne airdant fornaixe.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE A.—The whole of this version was printed by the present editor, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VIII (1893), cols. 93–96: *A Hitherto Unpublished Text of the "Évangile aux Femmes."*

NOTE B.—There is a lacuna in the manuscript, and the poem begins abruptly; hence there is no heading.

[1] *est(re)*: this very peculiar sign of abbreviation occurs: *est(re)* 1 (assured by *estre* 7); *fai(r)e* 1 (but *fair* 14); *chie(re)* 1.

[2] *q(ua)nt*: this unusual form of abbreviation occurs: *q(ua)nt* 2, 29; but we have *q(u)ant* 20, as commonly.

[4] *lvy*: this word is apparently intended as the masculine plural form of the definite article; I know of no other case in Old-French literature in which the article is thus spelt.

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III.

9 M(ou)lt ait de b(ie)n en fe(m)me, maix il est si repus;
10 A poine l'ap(er)ceuoir le puet oul pot on nus;
11 Lor science resamble la maixont Dedalus;
12 Pues c'o(n) y est entreit, ne s'an puet issir nulz.

IV.

13 Sor toute riens est feme de muable tallant;
14 P(ar) nature vuelt fair ceu c'o(n) plux li deffant;
15 Vne pance, autre dit; or vuelt, or se repent;
16 En son p(r)opo se tient, (com) cochet auz vant.

V.

17 N'est par droit, ne rapont, que dez fe(m)me mesdie;
18 Saige sont (et) secreit, plaine de cortoisie;
19 Ka (c'on) die d'elle, fol est que ne s'i fie,
20 Tout co(m) pastor auz louf, q(u)ant sa beste est mangiee.

VI.

21 Ie voy troy b(ie)n en fe(m)me, que m(ou)lt font a loweie;
22 Ferme sont (et) estauble, (et) seue(n)t b(ie)n celleie;
23 De riens quẽ on lor die, ne se couient douteie,
24 Ne plux que s'on estoit en .i. panier en meie.

fo 37vo ; VII.

25 Que ne se fie en fa(m)me, b(ie)n ait ou cor la raige;
26 Sa paix (et) son preu heit, (et) chaite son damage;
27 Et (com) plux ly samble humble, douce, cortoize (et) saige,
28 Adont te fie en lie auta(n)t (com) chet auz formaige.

VIII.

29 Q(u)ant vne fe(m)me fait .i. dinetot ou feste,
30 Sache c(er)tainem(en)t, que c'est signe de tempeste;
31 N'ait en lie seurteit, ne qu'il ait en la beste,
32 Que point deuer la cowe, (et) blandit de la teste.

---

[9] *m(ou)lt:* this abbreviation occurs: 9, 21 (assured by *moult* 1).
[10] *oul:* this is an unusual combination of conjunction with article.

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IX.

33 Que (com) fame vuelt auoir, (et) seür (et) sertaint,
34 A feme le vait querre, ne l'autait mie en vain;
35 Cez co(n)seille est si boin, (et) au soir (et) auz main,
36 Que home nieiet iai hony, se fe(m)me n'i met la main.

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[33] *sertaint:* the form with a final *t* is unusual.

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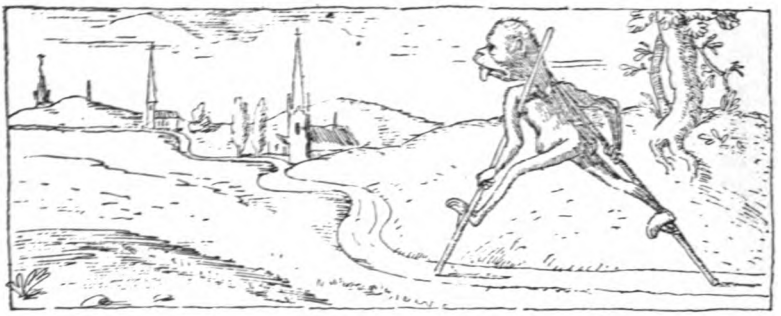

VERSION F.

B. N. f. 25545 (anc. N.—D. 274 *bis*), fo 2*b*—fo 2*d*.

Ci (com)mence l'Ewangile as Fames.

I.

1 Qvicomques veut mener
  pure et saintisme vie,
2 Femes aint et les croie,
  et dou tout s'i affie;
3 Car il n'i a de mal, faussete, ne boidie,
4 Ne q(u')il a en renart, ca(n)t il sa p(ro)ie espie.

II.

5 [L]ors (con)saus est si vrais, (et) ta(n)t dous (et) si piex;
6 En fais, a(n) dis, a(n) oeure, (c'om) ne pues dire miex;
7 Mere so(n)t de pite; gent t(r)aient de periex;
8 Ainsis (com) ce est uoirs, lor aïst Da(m)mediex.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE.—A very large initial letter occupies so much space that there is room for only half-verses by its side; this arrangement is indicated above.

4 *ca(n)t:* this mode of abbreviation occurs very frequently; a strange use of the sign is *mo(u)che* 92. Ars. f. 3123 reads: *quant.*

6 *a(n) . . . a(n):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en . . . en.*

oeure: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *oeuvre.*

8 *da(m)mediex:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Dame Diex.*

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III.

9 [O]nq(ue)s nul b(ie)n n'ama, q(u)i les fames n'ot chier;
10 Lor v(er)tus (et) lor g(r)aces font m(ou)lt a m(er)uillier;
11 (C'om) les puet aussis b(ie)n de lor preu (con)sillier,
12 Co(m) on pe(n)roit a cors .i. b(ie)n coura(n)t leu(r)ier.

IV.

13 [M](ou)lt est riches li ho(n)s q(ue) fame a en (con)duit;
14 Il n'est riens q(ue) li puisse greuer, si (com) ie cuit;
15 Ainsis est asseürs, (et) de iour (et) de nuit,
16 Con li sers q(u)i aua(n)t le veneour s'e(n) fuit.

V.

17 [I]l sont au(cun)ne ge(n)t, q(u)i s'en plai(n)gne(n)t a cort,
18 Mais c(er)tes, il me sa(m)ble, q(uë) il aie(n)t g(r)ant tort;
19 Car on y treuue auta(n)t d'aïde (et) de (com)fort,
20 Co(m) on fait en sarpe(n)t, q(u)i en t(r)aÿson mort.

VI.

21 [Q]ue (c'om) die des fames, on les doit m(ou)lt amer;
22 Car en tout lor affaire ne sai .i. po(n) . . . e(n)ger;

---

[10] *m(er)uillier:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *merveiller.*

[11] *(C'om):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *C'on.*

[12] *Co(m):* Ars. f. 3123 reads *C'on.*

[16] *Con:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Com.*

le veneour: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *les veneours.*

[17] *au(cun)ne:* this peculiar abbreviation is found only here for *cun*, if we may so resolve it. It is the same sign as is regularly used for *con*, or *com*. Ars. f. 3123, and M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 34, read *aucune.*

[18] *q(uë) il:* the metre requires the separation into two words, as given above.

[19] *treuue:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *trueve.*

(com)fort: Ars. f. 3123, and M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 34, read *confort.*

[20] *sarpe(n)t:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *serpent.*

[22] *.i. po(n) . . . e(n)ger:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *point de dangier (na).* M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 34, prints: *point blasmer*, without remark; but this latter can hardly be the reading of the manuscript.

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23 (Et) asses seür fait entr'elles (con)uerser,
24 Q(ue) se sẽ on estoit en .i. penier em mer.

VII.

25 [D]ex, (com) lor (com)pai(n)gnie est bo(n)ne (et) honeste;
26 On ni trouera ia g(r)euance, ne moleste,
27 Qu'aussi sain fait a(n)tr'elles demen(er) ioie (et) feste,
28 (Com) s'on estoit a(n) mer sen nef p(ar) g(r)ant te(m)peste.

VIII.

29 [S]e v(us) voulez auoir a(n) fa(m)mes acoi(n)te(n)ce,
30 Aiez h(er)dieme(n)t en elles g(r)ant fia(n)ce;
31 Nient plus ne saurois p(ar) elles va .p. sance,
32 Ne (c'om) l'eüst crie p(ar) ban p(ar) toute Fra(n)ce.

IX.

33 [Q]ue (c'om) die des fames, c'est vne g(r)ant m(er)uoille;
34 De b(ie)n faire (et) de dire cha(cun)ne s'aparoille;

---

[23] *asses:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *aussis.*
seür: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *seurs.*
entr'elles: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *entre elles.*
[24] *se sẽ on:* Ars. f. 3123, and M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 34, read the same for this remarkable passage.
em mer: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en mer.*
[25] *(com)pai(n)gnie:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *compeignie.*
bo(n)ne: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *bone.*
[27] *a(n)tr'elles:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *entre elles.*
[28] *a(n):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en.*
sen: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *seur.*
[29] *v(us):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *vos.*
voulez: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *volez.*
a(n): Ars. f. 3123 reads: *a.*
acoi(n)te(n)ce: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *acointance.*
[30] *h(er)dieme(n)t:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *hardiement.*
[31] *va .p. sance:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *vu convance;* the passage is a very obscure one, and calls for some happy emendation.
[33] *(c'om):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *c'on.*
[33] *(c'om):* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *c'on.*
m(er)uoille: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *merveille.*
[34] *cha(cun)ne:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *chacune;* cf. the note on *au(cun)ne* 17.

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Aussi coies se taise(n)t de se (c'om) lor (con)soille,
(Com) cil q(u)i va c(r)iant les va(n)s (et) la corboille.

fo 2*c*: X.

[L]i ho(n)s q(u)i bien s'i fie, (com)me(n)t aroit mesaise;
C'est vne medecine, q(u)i touz les max apaise;
L'a(n) ni peut ai(n)sis estre asseürs (et) a aise,
(Com) s'on estoit tous nus a(n) vne g(r)ant fornaise.

XI.

[S]e fames o(n)t a ho(m)me p(ar)leme(n)t ne s(er)mon,
Ne deuez pas cuidier q(u')il y ait se b(ie)n non;
Car trestout aussi b(ie)n croire les i puet on,
(Com) on feroit le chat entre lait (et) bacon.

XII.

[I]e me m(er)uoil (com)ma(n)t on a fame a haÿne;
Car sachiez, car elle est de touz max medecine;
Cil n'ara ia nul mal q(u)i ai(n)me sa doct(r)ine,
Ne q(u')il seroit toz n(us) a(n) .i. faissel d'espines.

XIII.

[C]il q(u)i a fame do(n)ne son auoir t(r)op est sages;
B(ie)n li doit on dou cors (et) d'auoir faire ho(m)-mag(es);

---

[35] *aussi . . . se . . . (c'om)* : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *ausi . . . ce . . . c'on.*

[36] *les . . . la . . . corboille :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *des . . . des . . . corbeilles.*

[37] *s'i :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *s'y.*

(com)me(n)t : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *coment.*

[38] *touz :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *tous.*

[41] *ho(m)me :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *homes.*

[42] *i :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *y.*

[45] *(com)ma(n)t :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *coment.*

[46] *car elle . . . touz :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *que ele . . . tous.*

[47] *ai(n)me :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *aime.*

[48] *toz n(us) . . . a(n) . . . d'espines :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *tous . . . nus . . . à . . . d'espine.*

[50] *li :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *lui.*

ho(m)mag(es) : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *homages.*

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Q(u)ant tout y arez mis, meubles (et) heritages,
Autel gre a(n) arez, (com)me cil q(u)i chie(n)s nage.

XIV.

[Q]ue (c'om) die des fames, c'est vne g(r)ant m(er)uoille;
De b(ie)n faire (et) de dire cha(cun)ne s'aparoille;
(Et) ai(n)sis sageme(n)t se poruoit (et) (con)soille,
(Com) fait li papillo(n)s, qui s'art a la cha(n)doille.

XV.

[M](ou)lt a de b(ie)n en fames, (et) a(n) dis (et) a(n) fais;
Meïsmes a(n) ta(n)sant ne fo(n)t mie g(r)ans plais;
Ne so(n)t pas rioteuses; tot les met o(n) a pais,
Aussitot (com) li singes saute por les mauuais.

XVI.

[I']ai m(ou)lt t(re)schier les fames p(or) le b(ie)n q(ue) g'i voi;
Elles ont fait p(or) moi ta(n)t q(ue) louer m'a(n) doi;
De q(u)anqu'elles me die(n)t, tout ai(n)si b(ie)n les croi,
(Com) celui qui .c. fois m'aroit manti sa foi.

---

[51] *meubles:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *muebles.*

[53] *a(n)*: Ars. f. 3123, and M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 35, read: *en;* but on p. 27 he reads: *an.*

(com)me: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *come.*

[54] *cha(cun)ne:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *chascune;* M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 35, reads: *chacune.*

[55] *poruoit:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *pourvoit.*

[58] *meïsmes:* M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 35, reads: *v aismes,* apparently doubtful as to the reading of the manuscript at this point.

a(n) . . . gra(n)s: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en . . . grant.*

[59] *a:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en.*

[60] *aussitot . . . singes:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Ausitot . . . singe.*

[61] *p(or)*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *pour.*

[62] *p(or)*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *pour.*

[63] *q(u)anqu'elles . . . ai(n)si*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *quanques elles . . . aussi.*

[64] *(com) . . . .c.:* Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Come . . . cent.*

manti: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *menti.*

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XVII.

65 [I']ai m(ou)lt chiere les fames, si (com) p(ar) jalousie;
66 Car je sai lor bo(n)te (et) lor ho(n)neste vie;
67 Por rie(n)s je ne diroie des fames uilo(n)nie;
68 Si tost b(ie)n a(n) diroie, (com) p(ro)dons se (con)chie.

XVIII.

69 [T]a(n)t a de b(ie)ns a(n) fames, q(u)i b(ie)n s'i asseüre,
70 Car lor (com)pai(n)gnie est bo(n)ne, loiaus (et) pure;
71 On doit ausis b(ie)n croire q(u'e)lle soit se(n)s p(ar)iure,
72 (Com) on feroit .i. chat a lait ou a p(re)sure.

fo 2*d*: XIX.

73 [F]ame fait d'estre sage sa(m)bla(n)t a so(n) pouoir;
74 Aussi (c'om) ne la puit p(ar) a(n)gin deceuoir;
75 Tout autreci fait chose ou il n'a q(ue) sauoir,
76 (Com) renars pre(n)t la pie, q(u)ant il la puet auoir.

XX.

77 [S]or toute rie(n) (est) fame de muable talent;
78 P(ar) nature veut faire se (c'om) plus li deffent;
79 Or est a(n) .i. pa(n)se; or veut, or se repe(n)t;
80 En .i. p(ro)pos se tie(n)t, (com)me ba(n)niere au ue(n)t.

---

[65] (*com*): only the *c* is legible in Ars. f. 3123.
[66] *ho(n)neste*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *honeste.*
[67] *uilo(n)nie*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *viloinie.*
[68] *a(n) . . . p(ro)dons*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *en . . . preudons.*
[70] (*com*)*pai(n)gnie . . . bo(n)ne*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *compaignie . . . bone.*
[71] *ausis . . . se(n)s*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *ausi . . . sans.*
[73] *sa(m)bla(n)t*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *sanblant.*
[74] *aussi . . . (c'om) . . . puit*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Ausi . . . c'on . . . puist.*
[76] *renars*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Renart.*
[77] [*s*]*or*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *Car.*
[78] (*c'om*): Ars. f. 3123 reads: *qu'on.*
[79] *pa(n)se*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *pensé.*
[80] *ba(n)niere*: Ars. f. 3123 reads: *baniere.*

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XXI.

81 [L]i ho(n)s q(u)i fames croit, a b(ie)n ou cors la rage;
82 S'o(n)nor (et) so(n) preu het, (et) ai(n)me so(n) da(m)-mage;
83 (Et) (c'om) plus la uoi hu(m)ble (et) cremeteuse (et) sage,
84 Ado(n)t la croi auta(n)t, (com) le chat a fromage.

XXII.

85 [F]ame aus a le cuer a b(ie)n faire mouua(n)t;
86 Pais het (et) aime noise; haïne ua couua(n)t;
87 En .i. p(ro)pos se tie(n)t, tost, (et) tart, (et) souua(n)t,
88 Sens li remuer poi(n)t, ne q(ue) cochet au uent.

XXIII.

89 [E]ntre n(us) da(m)moiselles v(us) p(r)i q(ue) ne cuidiez,
90 Q(ue) ie p(or) v(us) le die, q(ue) si faites soiez;
91 Q(ue) p(ar) fine simplece so(n)t vo cuer si loiez;
92 Ne plus q(ue) mo(u)che a miel, a vanite n'iriez.

Explicit.

---

[82] *ai(n)me :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *aime.*

da(m)mage : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *damage.*

[84] *croi :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *croit.*

[86] *haïne :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *et haine*, evidently regarding the word as a monosyllable.

[87] *.i.:* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *deux ;* this variation is probably due to the scribe of Ars. f. 3123 mistaking a mark of punctuation for a second *i.*

[88] *sens :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *sans.*

[89] *n(us) . . . v(us)*: Ars. f. 3123, and M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 36, read : *vous . . . vous*, and *nos . . . vos* respectively. P. 28, M. Constans reads : *vos . . . vos.*

da(m)moiselles : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *Damoiselles :* M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 28 and 36, reads : *danmoiselles.*

[90] *p(or) . . . v(us)*: Ars. f. 3123 reads : *pour . . . vous ;* M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 28 and 36, reads : *vos.*

[91] *vo cuer :* Ars. f. 3123 reads : *vos cuers.*

[92] *mo(u)che :* on the peculiar mode of abbreviation here employed see the note on verse 4. M. Constans, Zfrp VIII, 36, reads : *mosche* in his constructed text, remarking that the manuscript has *mo(u)che* (*i. e.*, the abbreviation). P. 28 he reads : *mouche.*

vanite : Ars. f. 3123 reads : *vanitez.*

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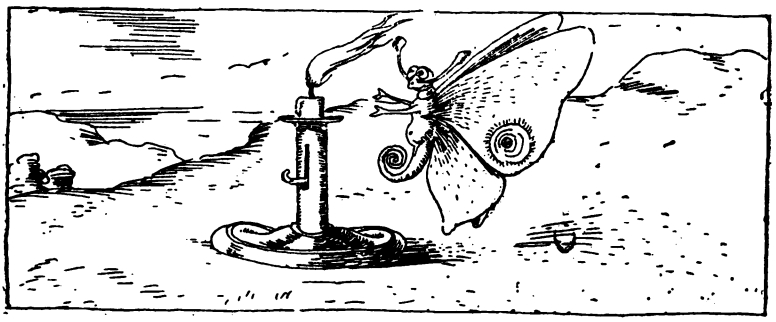

VERSION G.

Basel, Universitätsbibl., Amerbach Collection, unnumbered and separate manuscript, fo 1ro—fo 5ro.

fo 1ro: *L'Euangille des Femmes.*

fo 1vo is blank.

fo 2ro: I.

1 L'ewangile des fe(m)mes vous weil cy raccompter;

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE A.—The whole of this version was printed by Prof. Gustav Binz, Zfrp XIV (1890), pp. 172–174: *Zum Evangile des femmes.* No abbreviations were there specifically indicated by him; those here introduced by the present editor are in accordance with the information contained in a letter kindly written upon request by Prof. Binz, Feb. 18, 1893.

NOTE B.—In this manuscript the long twelve-syllable verses of our poem are divided into two parts for convenience of writing; the respective points at which this division is made in the manuscript have been indicated in the text above by spacing. Cf. the notes to Version B.

HEADING.—The heading is written obliquely across the page.

1 *L'ewangile:* Prof. Binz, Zfrp XIV, 172, prints: *Leuuangile;* I would, however, prefer to consider what seems to be two *u*'s as in reality intended by the scribe for a *w*. The difference in orthography as compared with the heading is to be noted.

fe(m)mes: Prof. Binz states in his letter that: 1, 1 *und so fast immer: fe(m)mes.* From this statement no certain information as to single instances can be gathered; the word occurs as follows: *femmes*, heading, 1, 5, 9, 13, 41, 45, 49; *femme* 7, 17, 21, 25, 33, 37, 54, 56.

weil: Prof. Binz, Zfrp XIV, 172, prints: *vueil.* Cf. the note on the first word in this verse.

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2 Moult g(r)ant p(ro)uffit en vient, qui le veult accoustер;
3 Cent ans de vray p(ar)don y pouues conquester,
4 Que gente pucelle apporta d'oultre mer.

II.

5 La maniere des fe(m)mes si est m(ou)lt sainte et digne;
6 Selon se que noz raco(m)pte Marie de Co(m)pie(n)gne;
7 Fe(m)me ne pence mal, ne nonnain, ne beguine,
8 Ne que fait le regnart, qui prant une geline.

fo 2vo: III.

9 N'est pas droit ne rayson, que des fe(m)mes mesdie;
10 Saiges sont, et apprinses, de m(ou)lt g(r)ant courtoisye,
11 Car ad ce qu'elles dye(n)t, fol est qui n'y si afie,
12 Co(m)me le bergier au loup, qui la berbis espie.

IV.

13 Qui diroit mal des fe(m)mes, ce seroit g(r)ant merueilles,
14 Car q(u)ant vien(en)t a b(ie)n faire, chascune s'y s'appareille,

---

[3] *g(r)ant:* this form of abbreviation is said by Prof. Binz to occur in this instance, *und so fast immer.* The word occurs: 2, 10, 13, 21, 30; but in the last-mentioned case he gives the abbreviation as: *gra(n)t.* He also indicates the same form of abbreviation as occurring in: *g(r)ace* 42; *g(r)andem(en)t* 42.

p(ro)uffit: this form of abbreviation occurs only here; the resolution is assured by *prouffit* 25.

[3] *p(ar)don:* this form of abbreviation occurs: *p(ar)don* 3; *p(ar)eille* 34 (assured by *s'appareille* 14).

[5] *m(ou)lt:* this resolution is assured by: *moult* 2. Prof. Binz so resolves the abbreviation, and adds: *und so fast immer;* the word occurs: 2, 5, 10, 25, 49.

[6] *co(m)pie(n)gne:* there is a variation worthy of note in this word between Prof. Binz's printed text, and his letter; in his printed text, Zfrp XIV, 172, he spells: *compiègne;* whereas in his letter he indicates the abbreviation as given above.

[14] *q(u)ant:* this word occurs as follows: *q(u)ant* 14, 34; *q(uan)t* 47; *quant* 52.

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15 Et aussi saigement se pouruoit et co(n)seille,
16 Comme le papillon, qui s'art a la chandelle.

fo 3ro: V.

17 Ho(m)me qui se fie en fe(m)me, comme aroit il mesaize;
18 C'est ung medecine, qui tous les maulx apaise;
19 On en puet aussi bien estre asseür et ayse
20 Que d'un morceau d'estouppe en ung arda(n)t fornese.

VI.

21 G(r)ant merueille est de fe(m)me; oncq(ue)s telle n'en fut;
22 De tout bien entreprendre ont tousiours l'arc ta(n)du;
23 Par le(u)r scie(n)ce sont maint ho(m)e et secourru,
24 Tout et ainsi que l'oseau; qui est prinz au glue.

fo 3vo: VII.

25 M(ou)lt de b(ie)n a en fe(m)me, prouffit, honnesteste;
26 Saiges sont et secretes, et plaines de bonte;
27 Car on puet aussi bien garder leur amytie,
28 Que l'on pourroit garder ung glasson en este.

VIII.

29 Ilz sont aucu(n)s gens, qui s'en plaigna(n)t si fort,
30 Mais il me semble bien, qu'ilz ont de ce gra(n)t tort;
31 Car on y trouve autant de bien et de confort,
32 Qu'on fait en une serpent, qui en traÿson mort.

fo 4ro: IX.

33 Së on se fie en fe(m)me, ce n'est pas merueille;
34 Q(u)ant est de loyaulte, il n'est chose p(ar)eille;
35 Et si celle aussi bien cela qu'on luy co(n)ceille,
36 Co(m)e celuy qui cha(n)te en une sourde oreille.

---

[29] *plaigna(n)t*: this form of the finite verb is rather uncommon, and is noteworthy on this account.

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X.

37 Sur tout riens est fe(m)me d'amiable talant;
38 Tousiors elle vieult faire ce quë on luy deffant;
39 Or dist, or propose; or vuelt, or se repent;
40 En son propos se tient, comme le cochet au vent.

fo 4vo: XI.

41 Oncques il n'ama bien, qui les fe(m)mes n'a chier;
42 Leur vertu et leur g(r)ace sont g(r)andem(en)t a priser;
43 On les peut aussi bien reprendre et chastier,
44 Que l'on pouroit la mer d'ung panier espuiser.

XII.

45 Doulce chose est de fe(m)me, et en diz, et en faitz;
46 Ne sont mye riotteuses, et n'ont point trop de plait;
47 Q(uan)t elles so(n)t esmeüs, si doulcem(en)t font paix,
48 Tout ainsi que le cinge feroit pour les mauvaitz.

fo 5ro: XIII.

49 M(ou)lt a de bien en fe(m)mes, mais il est trop reclus;
50 Ne trouuer, ne cognoistre, ne la poura ja nulz;
51 Leur science resamble la mayson Dedalus;
52 Quant on y est entre, on ne scet trouuer l'uys.

XIV.

53 Qui co(n)seil vieult avoir, bon, seür et certain,
54 A fe(m)me l'aille querre, siz n'yra mie en vain;
55 Leur conseil est si bon, et au soir, et au main;
56 Ja ho(m)me ne sera honny, si fe(m)me n'y mest la main.

Explicit.

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54 *siz*: the unusual orthography for the prevailing *si* is to be noted.

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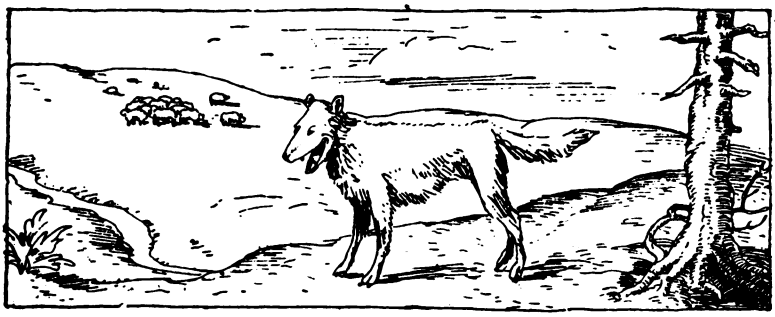

VERSION H.

Château de Chantilly, fr. 1578, fo 214*a*—fo 214*c*.

La Fiance q(uë) on Doit Auoir e(n) Fe(m)me.

I.

1 Quiconques ueut mener
pure (et) sai(n)teme uie,
2 Fe(m)mes aint (et) les croie,
(et) de tout s'i afie;
3 (et) [aussi] soit seürs, (com) ce q(u)i est n'est mie;
4 Q(ue) p(ar) elles sera s'ame saintefiie.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE.—A very large initial *Q* has caused the first two verses to be divided into two parts, as shown above in the text.

[3] [*ausi*]: the manuscript is illegible at this point, but by a comparison of the verses in other versions, we are enabled to fill out the gap by the word *ausi*, with a near approach to certainty in the reading. Cf. *ausi* 8, 16, 20.

[4] *p(ar)*: this mode of abbreviation is used: *p(ar)* 4, 27, 43, 53; *ap(er)ceuoir* 23; *p(ar)tir* 25; *p(ar)mi* 37. The following are found written in full: *percieus* 12; *s'apareille* 19; *parole* 28; *paradis* 46.

s'ame: this reading, and not *fame*, is assured by the regular occurrence of *fe(m)me* and *fe(m)mes* in this version; the same remark applies to *s'ame* 53.

saintefiie: the occurrence of *-iie*, instead of the more usual *-ie* and *-iee*, is to be noted in this version.

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II.

Ains cil nul bie(n) n'a(n)ma, q(u)i les fe(m)mes n'ot chier;
Leur v(er)tu (et) leur grace sont a esmeruillier;
Qui i entant (et) pense (*struck out in the MS.*)
Car on les puet ausi repre(n)dre (et) chastoier,
Comme on poroit la mer d'u(n) pe(n)nier espuisier.

III.

Leur (con)seil est ta(n)t bons, (et) tant dous (et) tant pius;
Q(u')i entant (et) pense, pl(u)s i est dous q(ue) mieus;
[Me]res [sont] de pitie; gens traient de percieus;
[A]insi (com) [ie dis] uoir leur aïnst Da(m)medieus.

IV.

H[on]s qui fe(m)me a e(n) cure, (com)ment aroit mesaise;
C'est une medecine, q(u)i t(ous) les maus apaise;
Car on i puet ausi estre a seür (et) aise,

fo 214*b*:

Co(m) plain panier d'estoupes e(n) une arde(n)t fournaise.

V.

Que (c'on) die de fe(m)mes, c'est une g(r)ant m(er)ueille;
De bie(n) faire (et) de dire chacune s'apareille,

---

[7] This is a remarkable instance of carelessness, and subsequent correction, on the part of the scribe; his procedure was the same as that which we would follow in a similar case in copying rather hurriedly at the present day. The line which he wrongly inserted here in part occurs regularly and in due order four verses further on in the poem. The numbering has purposely included this abortive line.

[12] The beginning of this verse is almost entirely illegible; from a comparison of the verse in other versions we are enabled to reconstruct it with some degree of plausibility as it is given above.

[13] The same remarks apply to this verse as to the preceding.

[14] Both the beginning and the end of this verse are rather illegible; with the aid of the corresponding verse in other versions we are enabled to reconstruct with some degree of plausibility the verse as given above.

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20 (Et) ausi sagement se pouruoit (et) (con)seille,
21 Co(m) fait li papillons, q(u)i s'art a la cha(n)deille.

VI.

22 Mout a de bien en fe(m)me, mais il est si repuns,
23 Q(u')a pai(n)ne ap(er)ceuoir le pot onq(ue)s ho(n)s nul;
24 Leur scie(n)ce resanle la maison Dedalus;
25 P(uis) c'o(n) i est entres, ne s'en puet p(ar)tir nus.

VII.

26 Seur toute riens est fe(m)me d'a(n)mable tale(n)t;
27 P(ar) nature ueut faire q(u)a(n)q(uë) on li desfent;
28 Or parole, or se tait; ce fait, or s'en repent;
29 E(n) son p(ro)pos se tient (com)me cochet au uent.

VIII.

30 N'est pas drois, ne raisons, q(ue) des fe(m)mes mesdie;
31 Saches sont (et) discretes plai(n)nes de courtoisie;
32 (Et) q(ue) qu'o(n) die d'elles, chacu(n) le qui s'i fie,
33 Tant co(m) pasteur en leu, q(u)i sa beste a me(n)gie.

IX.

34 Quant plus q(ue) riens fe(m)me seruir (et) ho(n)nourer;
35 Sages sont (et) senees, (et) seuent bien celer;
36 Ta(n)t fait bon (et) seür e(n)tr'elles (con)uerser,
37 Co(m) .i. home tout nus p(ar)mi un feu aler.

---

[32] *mout:* this word occurs only twice, and both times with unusual spelling: 22, 51.

[26] *d'a(n)mable:* this is an unusual spelling; more common are *aimable* and *amiable*. Cf. the corresponding verse in other versions.

[27] *q(u)a(n)q(uë):* this word is very strongly abbreviated, but is probably to be resolved thus. Cf. *q(u')a* 23.

[32] The end of this verse remains unexplained in meaning. A comparison with the corresponding verse in other versions appears to be of little or no assistance, as this version diverges widely in this particular, it would seem, from the others.

[34] The beginning of this verse is apparently devoid of all sense; other versions have here the reading: *l'en doit* . . . (C 97), or something similar; hence we may perhaps suppose this to be the proper reading here, instead of the meaningless: *quant.*

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X.

38 Onq(ue)s da(m)mes, beguines, cẽ a u(ous) ne traies;
39 Ie ne veil pas cuidier, q(ue) u(ous) telles soies;
40 Ains cuit q(ue) decepline ait uos cuers si liiez,
41 Nien pl(us) q(ue) mouches a lait a uanite n'iries.

XI.

42 Toute religion est en fe(m)me trouuee,
43 C'o(n) en placions est p(ar) elles aleuee;
44 Amours charnel dou mo(n)t ariere deus gette,
45 Si (com) chiens familleus feroit char seur semee.

XII.

46 Se tu en paradis ueus aler droite uoie,
47 Ne pues estre auoies, se fe(m)me ne t'auoie;
fo 214*c*:
48 Bien seras co(n)uoies se fe(m)me t'i co(n)uoie;
49 Si bien t'i pues fier, co(m)me e(n) bonte couroie.

XIII.

50 Ces uers Ieha(n) Durpai(n), .i. moines de Uaucelles,
51 A fait mout soutieument, les rimes en sont belles;
52 Priies pour li, beguines, uielles (et) iouencelles;
53 P(ar) uous sera portee s'ame entre .ii. foiselles.

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[38] For the thought in this quatrain see the passages quoted in the notes to Version N.

[43] *placions*: this word remains unexplained.

[45] *semee*: this word remains unexplained.

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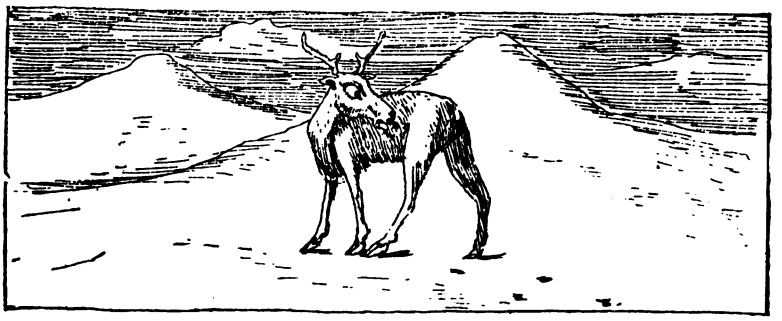

VERSION J.

Berne, Bibl. Bongarsiana 205, fo 378*a*—fo 379*b*.

L'Ewangile des Fe(m)mes.

I.

1 Quico(n)ques veult mener pure et saincte vie,
2 Si ayme les fe(m)mes, et du tout s'i affie;
3 Et soit aussi seür, com de ce qui n'est mie,
4 Car par elle sera la vie sainctifie.

II.

5 Oncques cil në eüst bien, qui les fe(m)mes n'ot cher;
6 Les v(er)tuz et leur grace font m(ou)lt a m(er)ueiller;
7 Car on les puet b(ie)n aussi apra(n)dre et chastier,
8 Com on pourroit la mer d'un panier espuisier.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE.—This version has been named Version J in order to avoid the confusion which would so readily arise by using the letter I. As the same character would in that case have been used both as a letter and as a Roman numeral, it would lead to difficulty in attempting to distinguish the sense in which it was used in each particular instance. By omitting this one letter, all such trouble is avoided.

6 *m(ou)lt:* this mode of abbreviation is used: *m(ou)lt* 6, 31, 41, 45, 53, 81, 86 (assured by *moult* 9, 33, 54, 57).

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III.

9 Moult puet uns homs jouer et mener bo(n)ne vie,
10 Quant fe(m)me l'a en cure, et elle le chastie;
11 Humble co(m)me brebiz, et co(m)me lyon hardie;
12 Bien doit estre appellez: "*Jeha(n)ninet Folsifie.*"

IV.

13 Doulce chose est des fe(m)mes, et en diz et en faiz;
14 Ne sont point rioteuses; n'ont mie trop de plaiz;
15 Quant elles sont esmeües, tost les met on en paiz,
16 Aussy tost com li singes feroit pour les mauuaiz.

V.

17 Qui co(n)seil veult auoir, qui soit seür et c(er)tain,
18 A fe(m)me le voist querre, il ne l'aura pas en vain;
19 Et si en sont si seur, co(m)me du soir au main;
20 Car ja homs n'y est ho(n)nis, se fe(m)me n'y met la main.

VI.

21 Homs qui a fe(m)me en cure, co(m)me(n)t aroit mesaise;
22 C'est une medicine, qui tous les maulx rappaise;
23 On y puet estre asseurez et bien aise,
24 Co(m)me est plain poing d'estoupez en une arda(n)t fournaise.

---

[17] *qui* (second one) : this appears to be a change to a more modern mode of construction from the double *et* of the other versions.

[19] In order to be able to scan this verse properly, it is necessary to regard *seur* as a word of one syllable, contrary to the universal practice of the other versions. This is only another indication of a tendency in this version to modernize. We have on the other hand, however, a case of *seür*, as proved by the metre, in verse 3; this is no doubt a survival of a reading in whatever manuscript may have been before the scribe, who for some reason let the verse stand thus. Later on he changed the verses in which the word was found as a dissyllable.

[21] The reading of the manuscript at the end of this verse is difficult to make out with certainty, but a comparison with the corresponding verses in other versions leads to the wording as given in the text above.

[23] *asseurez:* a remark applies to this word similar to that made in connection with verse 19.

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fo 378*b*:

VII.

Quoy c'om dye des fe(m)mes, c'est une gra(n)t m(er)-ueille;
Que de bien faire, ch(acu)ne s'aua(n)ce et s'app(ar)eille;
Et aussi sageme(n)t se pouruoit et conseille,
Co(m)me fait ly papillon qui se bruist a la cha(n)delle.

VIII.

Qui trop se fye en fe(m)mes, trop a ou cuer la rage;
Son honneur et son preu het, et ayme son do(m)mage;
Car qua(n)t semble estre humble et fait m(ou)lt bon courage,
Adont la croy auta(n)t co(m)me ung chat a tout son f(r)omage.

IX.

Moult de b(ie)n a es dames, et gra(n)t ho(n)nestete;
Sages sont et entieres, et plaines de gra(n)t bonte;
Car on puet aussy b(ie)n tenir le(u)r amitie,
Co(m)me on pourroit garder vng glaçon en este.

X.

Qui doncques voit en dames joliuete ne feste,
Bien doit estre seur, c'est signe de gra(n)t noblesse;
N'a en lui seurete, ne qu[ë] il a en beste,
Qui point vers la queue, et blandist de la teste.

---

[26] *ch(acu)ne:* the mode of abbreviation used in this case is one of those irregular forms of abbreviation found from time to time in Old-French manuscripts.

[32] *a tout son f(r)omage:* this expression is a rather peculiar one, to which I know of no parallel in Old French.

[36] *glaçon:* there is no cedilla in the manuscript.

[38] This verse transgresses in a very peculiar fashion the usual rule that there must be a pause in the sense, as well as in the metre, at the middle of the verse. In order to scan this verse it is necessary to include *c'est* in the first hemistich, though belonging in sense to the second. Trouble with the word *seur* has probably been the cause of this irregularity in the metre. Cf. the note to verse 19.

[39] *qu[ë] il:* it is necessary to insert this *ë* in order to obtain the full quota of syllables for the verse. Here again it may have been trouble with the word *seurete* that is at the bottom of this irregularity in the metre. Cf. the note to the preceding verse.

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XI.

41 J'ayme forme(n)t les dames, q(ue) m(ou)lt y ay trouue
42 De senz, de courtoisie, de valou(r) et de bonte;
43* On les puet aussy b(ie)n tenir en verite,
44 Quë on po(u)rroit tenir la mer ento(u)r vng pe.

XII.

45 J'ay m(ou)lt cherez les dames po(u)r le b(ie)n q(ue) g'y voy;
46 Elles ont fait po(u)r moy ta(n)t q(ue) louer m'en doy;
47 De qua(n)qu'elles me die(n)t, tout aussy b(ie)n les croy,
48 Com cellui qui m'aroit pl(us) de ce(n)t foiz me(n)ty sa foy.

XIII.

49 Ilz sont aucunes gens qui se plaingne(n)t a tort;
50 Mais p(ar) Dieu il me se(m)ble q(ue) trop ilz ont gra(n)t tort;
51 Car on y treuue auta(n)t d'aïde et de co(n)fort,
52 Quë on fait au s(er)pe(n)t qui p(ar) traÿson mort.

XIV.

fo 379*a*:

53 J'ayme forment les dames, car m(ou)lt de b(ie)n y voy;
54 Celles qui se font simples, ayme je moult et croy;
55 Car on les puet aussy bien du tout tenir en vray,
56 Com on pourroit vng lieure f(er)e venir au bray.

XV.

57 Moult de bien a en fe(m)mes, mais il est [si] re(m)pus,
58 Qu'a peines app(er)ceuoir le peut oncq(ue)s nulz homs;

---

[48] Notice that this verse has fourteen syllables instead of the usual twelve; toward the end of the poem many other verses occur which have the same peculiarity.

[55] It is to be noted that this verse has thirteen syllables.

[57] This verse has only eleven syllables in the manuscript; by comparing it with the corresponding verse in other versions we are enabled to supply *si* with considerable assurance.

[58–59] These verses have thirteen syllables each.

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59 Leur science c'y ressemble la maison Dedalus;
60 Puis qu'on y est entrez plus issir n'en puet nulz.

XVI.

61 Sur toute chose du mo(n)de fe(m)me est de muable talent;
62 Car par nature si veult f(er)e trestout qua(n)c'o(n) ly defent;
63 Vne penstre et autre dit; puis se mort et se repent;
64 En son p(ro)pos si se tie(n)t, com fait ly cocher au vent.

XVII.

65 Ce n'est pas droit q(ue) homs de fe(m)me mesdye;
66 Car sages sont et secretes, et plaines de gra(n)t co(u)rtoisie;
67 Et quoy c'om dye d'elles, chascu(n)s auta(n)t si cy fie,
68 Com le pastour fait au leu qui sa beste a ma(n)gie.

XVIII.

69 On plus q(ue) nulle rien fe(m)mes s(er)uir et honorer;
70 Discretes et b(ie)n sages et fermes en le(u)r p(ar)ler;
71 Autant y fait bon et seur entrë elles co(n)uerser,
72 Co(m)me vng ho(m)me trestout nu p(ar) feu arda(n)t t(re)ppasser.

---

[60] This verse also has thirteen syllables as it stands in the manuscript; by reading *qu'on*, instead of *quë on*, we are enabled to restore the metre to its normal form.

[62] *qua(n)c'o(n)*: the occurrence of the *c* instead of the more usual *qu* is noticeable in this word.

[69] This remarkable passage has omitted the verb *doit* found in the same verse in other versions, and still has piled up no less than fourteen syllables in the verse.

[70] This verse has thirteen syllables.

[71] Even taking *seur* as a monosyllable, we have fourteen syllables in this verse again.

[72] This verse likewise has fourteen syllables.

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XIX.

73 Autant est tenu co(m)paignie et saintisme et ho(n)nestete,
74 C'om n'y po(u)rroit point sentir ne greua(n)ce ne moleste;
75 Si seur fait en elles jouer et mener bo(n)ne feste,
76 Com s'on feüst en la mer sans nef p(ar) gra(n)t te(m)peste.

XX.

77 Qua(n)t uns homs a a fe(m)me ne p(ar)ole ne raison,
78 On ne doit point y cuidier qu'il y ait ce b(ie)n non;
79 Car aussy seureme(n)t croire et b(ie)n les y puet on,
80 Co(m)me on feroit vng chat sẽ il me(n)toit au baton.

XXI.

fo 379*b*:

81 Je treuue trois biens en fe(m)mes qui m(ou)lt se fo(n)t a p(ri)ser;
82 Vrayes si sont et estables, et t(re)sb(ie)n sceue(n)t celer;
83 Car de rien q(uẽ) on leur dye ne se doit nul poi(n)t doubter,
84 Nẽa(n)t q(ue) sẽ il fust en vng panyer en la mer.

---

[73] This verse has no less than fifteen syllables, but the last syllable was evidently hung on by an oversight of the scribe, as it gives us a noun where we must have an adjective, and also spoils the rhyme.

[74] This verse has fourteen syllables.

[75] Taking *seur* as a monosyllable, we still have fourteen syllables in this verse.

[76] This verse as it stands in the manuscript contains thirteen syllables, but by reading *si on* for *s'on* we may raise the number to what seems to have been the normal number in the mind of the scribe.

[77] This verse has thirteen syllables.

[78] This verse has fourteen syllables.

[79-80] These verses have thirteen syllables each.

[81-82] These verses have fifteen syllables each.

[83] This verse has fifteen syllables, as given above, although by reading *q(u')on* the number may be reduced to thirteen.

[84] This verse has thirteen syllables.

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XXII.

85 Ces vers Jeh(an) Doriaulx et Gra(n)delaiz ten(n) Escoles
86 A fait m(ou)lt soubtiueme(n)t; les rymes si en so(n)t nobles;
87 Priez po(ur) lui entre vo(us) teutes, car il s'ate(n)t sa(n)s nulle doubte,
88 Que s'ame soit en p(ar)adis p(ar) vo(us) po(u)rtee en vne hote.

Explicit l'Ewa(n)gile des Fe(m)mes.

85-86 These verses have fourteen syllables each.

86 *soubtiueme(n)t:* the orthography of this word is evidently influenced by the well-known etymologizing tendencies of the time.

87 This verse has seventeen syllables; we furthermore notice with surprise that the rhyme here changes, forming thus a pair of couplets instead of the usual monorhyme quatrain. Perhaps it would be better to consider these couplets as intentionally assonanced instead of being a poor attempt at rhyming by an unskillful poetaster.

88 *po(u)rtee:* the proper orthography of this word remains in doubt, as the reading of the manuscript at this point is with difficulty deciphered.

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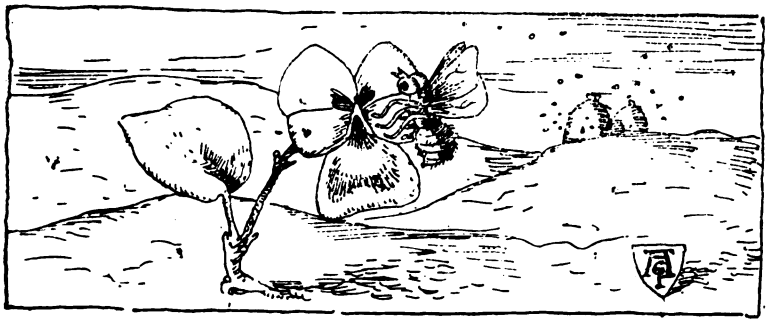

VERSION N (?).

Clermont-Ferrand, bibl. mun. 249, fo 17vo.

. . . . . .

I.

1 Ce je ay dit dez fammes choze que leur enuit,
2 Ne le dy pas de toutes, car d'elles sommes tuit;
3 Ains le dy dez mauvayses que mal font jour et nuit;
4 Car n'est homme en vie que bonnes blasmer puit.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

NOTE A.—As manuscripts K, L and M are merely modern copies of versions already given, the texts of these three manuscripts have been omitted from this series of versions. Such readings of these three manuscript copies as seemed worthy of note have been given in the foot-notes to the passages which they concerned.

NOTE B.—The quatrain given above appears to be a fragment of some poem on women which struck the fancy of the compiler of the manuscript in which it is contained, and hence was copied in the place where we find it. Its attribution to some lost version of the *Évangile aux Femmes* rests solely on the fact that the subject-matter, metrical form and non-existence elsewhere point rather to this poem than to any other of the numerous poems on similar subjects to which it might possibly belong.

We may compare as similar in thought the following quatrains from the versions already given :

Version F 65-68 :

J'ai moult chiere les fames si com par jalousie,
Car je sai lor bonte et lor honneste vie ;
Por riens je ne diroie des fames uilonnie,
Si tost bien an diroie com prodons se conchie.

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Version F 89–92 (the end):

Entre vus dammoiselles vus pri que ne cuidiez,
Que ie por vus le die, que si faites soiez;
Que par fine simplece sont vo cuer si loiez,
Ne plus que mouche a miel a vanite n'iriez.

Version H 38–41:

Onques dammes, beguines, ce a uous ne traies;
Ie ne veil pas cuidier que uous telles soies;
Ains cuit que decepline ait uos cuers si liiez,
Nien plus que mouche au lait a uanite n'iries.

Version J 85–88 (the end):

Ces vers Jehan Doriaulx et Grandelaiz tenn Escoles
A fait moult soubtiuement, les rymes si en sont nobles;
Priez pour lui entre vous teutes, car il s'atent sans nulle doubte,
Que s'ame soit en paradis par vous pourtee en vne hote.

Compare also the *Chastiemusart*, B. N. f. 19152 (anc. St.-Germ. 1830), vv. 309–312:

Nel font pas totes teles, ne il n'est pas mestiers;
Ainz en i a qui ont cuers loiax et entiers,
Et servent lor seignors de gre et volantiers,
Et dient patre nostres, set seaumes et sautiers.
(Jubinal, *Rutebeuf*, 2d ed., vol. III, p. 392.)

The special point to be noticed in all of these quatrains from our poem is that the jongleur, who is supposed to be reciting the poem, turns to his audience and addresses them directly in such a manner that we may not unreasonably suppose that there were women present.

This feature, it would seem, is quite foreign to the spirit of the original form of the poem, and shows us another phase of the development which this poem underwent in the course of centuries.

Perhaps at some later time fresh discoveries in the domain of Old-French literature will bring to the surface evidence that will enable us to place this stray quatrain with more accuracy.

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CORRECTION.

The statements made with regard to MS. H should be revised in accordance with the additional facts concerning this manuscript brought out by M. Gaston Raynaud in his recent description of it, Ro XXIV (1895), pp. 446–451: *Le Dit du Cheval à Vendre, publié d'après un Manuscrit du Château de Chantilly.*

M. Raynaud appears to still attribute our poem to Jehan Durpain in spite of Prof. Mall's well-known refutation of this interpolator's claims.

By an oversight on the part of the present editor the date assigned by M. Claudin to the portion of the manuscript containing our poem has been incorrectly given as approximately 1350.

August 24, 1895.

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